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ABSTRACT

Drawn from papers presented at the East-West Communication Institute Seminars on popular culture held yearly from 1974 to 1976, the essays in this report focus on popular images of America held in four countries. Essay topics are: images of the American woman in Japan, the changing images of America in Korean literature, images of America in Malay poetry and short stories, and images of America in Tagalog short stories. (FL)

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POPULAR IMAGES OF AMERICA

EDITED BY

Hidetoshi Kato

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PREFACE

For three successive years, from 1974 to 1976, the East-West Communication Institute conducted a series of intensive, four-week seminars on aspects of comparative popular culture. The 35 participants--scholars, writers, journalists, and artists--examined the seminar topics from the perspectives of Asia, the Pacific, and North America.

Each year the East-West Communication Institute selected a topic for investigation during the seminar, announced the program to participating countries, and requested applications. The individual proposals for seminar papers were carefully screened by the Institute's selection committee, which chose the applicants. The committee often had a difficult time in the selection process because all the proposals were imaginative and interesting. The participants were notified early in the year so that they could have ample time to prepare their papers before the actual seminars during the summer.

The participants were encouraged to communicate with each other from their own countries in order to exchange ideas. Because of this preparatory stage, many participants were friends long before they actually met in Honolulu. Each individual knew what the others were doing, and the program office became a clearinghouse of information between participants. In this sense, the series of seminars was unusual. In many international conferences, people get acquainted with each other at the time of registration and exchange polite, formal greetings. But the people who joined these seminars each year had enough warm-up time prior to the conference that everyone was extremely relaxed and easy-going from the first day.

Moreover, the seminar was organized and conducted in such a way that people had enough time for informal discussions and individual studies. The participants met every weekday morning from 9:00 until noon, but their afternoons remained free; the ample free time meant more socializing. Probably, "agenda without an agenda" is the best term to describe the seminar. Many things happened on an ad hoc basis, and the participants were very talented at improvisation. Even

the morning sessions were relatively unstructured and non-directed, geared loosely to discussing the individual papers; thus, the participants enjoyed a kind of chain-reaction of ideas generated by the papers themselves.

POPULAR CULTURE

The term "popular culture" as used here and within the seminar, is, broadly speaking, a research into the everyday information experience of common people. Therefore, this definition may disagree with those who hold the view that "popular culture" is specifically a product of mass media, or with those who understand it to be a genre that emerged mainly from a new trend in the studies of literature in the United States.

The participants were reminded that every society, regardless of its stage of socioeconomic development, has a unique "popular culture" that is nearly synonymous with the concept of "culture" used by anthropologists. Indeed, upon reflection, I feel that what these three seminars achieved was basically an experiment in the anthropological exploration of human communication. We were interested, of course, in mass communication studies, but at the same time, we tried to emphasize the equal importance of the many other communication practices and devices used by the peoples of Asia, the Pacific, and the United States. Thus, the scope of the seminar was much wider than one might associate with the popular usage of the term "popular culture."

THE SEMINARS

In 1974, the topic of the seminar was "Popular Heroes." The heroes, both real and fictional, as depicted in popular literature, motion pictures, and television programs of each country and their sociocultural implications were studied and analyzed. One of the surprising findings of the seminar was the fact that many contemporary popular heroes in the Asian countries were "imported" or "borrowed." James Bond, Superman, cowboys, and many other fantastic heroes, originating mostly in the United States, were found to have been accepted with great enthusiasm in Asian countries. Of course, each culture and each nation had its own heroes, but in certain instances these "native" heroes found themselves in severe competition with the "imported" heroes.

It was difficult to explain why "imported" heroes were so popular. One of the reasons could be purely economic, that is, the Hollywood-produced films and programs with multi-million dollar production costs were much more spectacular than indigenous films that were usually made on a modest budget. At the same time, it may be hypothesized that the programs and heroes imported from the technologically more advanced countries might be used as the agents of "modernization." For instance, the way people behaved on the screen could suggest a new life-style

for those who lived in less developed parts of the world. Interestingly enough, a survey conducted in Manila and Bangkok (not connected with the seminar) revealed that middle-class families were more attracted by the television programs made in the United States while lower-income families preferred indigenous programs; in that context, the acceptance and preference for "imported heroes" may indicate a trend toward western values among the more mobile middle-class in developing countries.

"Traditional media" was the theme of the 1975 seminar. Extremely interesting papers dealing with traditional media in Asia and the Pacific were presented. For example, the role of the Iranian coffee shop as a social and information exchange medium, the role of traveling barbers in India, folk rituals in Fiji, and many other topics were discussed. The participants were particularly interested in looking at the possible impact of the more sophisticated media, such as television, upon the traditional media of developing countries. As electronic means of communication were introduced, it was often found that the traditional media did not survive. In rural communities in Asia, for instance, people became more attentive to television than to their traditional village theaters. In some countries and in some cases, certain continuities between traditional media and electronic media were designed in such a way that the traditional values and content carried over to broadcasting programs. Indeed, because of the development of radio, a people living in a mountainous area may have easier access to the folk songs their ancestors cherished. A movie producer could incorporate traditional characters and values into the films he produces.

Once again, in this year's discussion, the problem of the "importation" of popular culture was raised. Many Asians felt that buying foreign movies, tapes, and discs was much cheaper than producing their own. Therefore, in many countries in Asia, movies from Japan, and television programs and popular songs from the United States dominated the traditional and native products. It is no wonder that the "imported" heroes had such success in beating the "native" heroes. The participants seemed to agree that the heroes of the 1974 seminar were indeed very closely related with the problems of traditional media and their future.

The 1975 seminar had a great "side-show" in the literal sense. Many of the participants were not only researchers of traditional media but also were "practitioners" -- a folk-song singer from Bangladesh, a folk-dancer from Thailand, a musician from India--and they demonstrated their talents often. One very touching and impressive "happening" took place when the participants were invited to the home of Dr. Wilbur Schramm. The Schramms had a drum they had bought in South America. The Indian artist began to beat the drum, a scholar from Nigeria joined him, then the Bangladesh musician started to sing, and another performer from Fiji harmonized. It was the most beautifully spontaneous music one could imagine, created by improvisation by people who represented many diversified backgrounds. Nonetheless, the harmony was perfect. It was a brilliant demonstration of the charm and strength of "traditional media," and the participants were reminded that

their cultural heritages could not only survive but also could be developed alongside electronic media if each nation could establish a solid policy of cultural preservation.

The topic of the concluding seminar in 1976 was set as "The Popular Images of America." It was appropriate for America's bicentennial, and the participants were well-prepared to present the images of America held in other countries. In the course of the discussions, several critical issues were raised. First of all, in spite of the heavy flow of international and intercultural communication, there were still serious misperceptions and misunderstandings among the peoples of the world. With satellite broadcasting and other means of modern communication technology, it is true that the peoples of the world now can have easy access to international communication. A broadcasting station in Tokyo can easily transmit news from London simultaneously and vice versa; the American public is informed of events in South Africa; a newspaper in Kuala Lumpur reports on the next day an event which took place in Teheran. One might be inclined to agree that we are living as inhabitants of a "global village." Yet, the "global village" seems to suffer from intra-village communication difficulties. It is true that the peoples of Asia are more or less informed of America and thus are able to construct their own images of her. But the information sources from which they build their images are mostly television programs and movies. The fantasies--unlimited affluence, neat suburban life, streets full of beautiful women, etc.--presented by mass media are, needless to say, quite different from the realities. But for the masses these two are often indistinguishable. Indeed, even Americans themselves often confuse their dreams and their realities. It is no wonder that Asians tend to have strange and disparate images about the United States.

In the second place, it was found that the images held of the United States differed from one country to another depending on the historical and international context. Sometimes, and in some countries, America and Americans were thought to represent the best ideals human beings could attain. In another historical context, America was the symbol of corruption and crime. As the source of information changes, so do the perceptions of the people. In other words, the images of America held by Asians were an intricate synthesis of the information they had received and of their interpretation of it, combined with zeitgeist. Similar research and findings of American images of Asia have been found by Harold Isaacs and others; however, this is the time when Asians should investigate their images of America in order to reciprocate the work of American researchers. The East-West Center is an appropriate place for work on this kind of project.

Throughout the three successive seminars there was a single, great lesson for all participants--the importance and joy of "mutual learning." Very often, in international conferences involving both developed and developing countries, the flow of information tends to be one-sided. The people representing highly industrialized countries are inclined to teach (and sometimes preach) the people who are trying to develop; the delegates of less developed countries find themselves as listeners. This series of popular culture seminars was quite a contrast to the

ordinary international conference, for every one of the participants learned equally from the others. An Indonesian was impressed by the similarities of folklore presented by a Japanese literary critic; a Filipino sociologist learned about Pakistani folk religion; an American scholar was excited to learn the wisdom of Malaysian customs. In this sense, the seminars were a good example of the "mutuality" that has been a goal of the East-West Center.

As the final synthesis of the three seminars, it was decided to publish selected papers of the 1976 seminar. The four papers included here represent not only the images of America by four different countries but also represent the approaches and methodologies employed in the image studies. My regret is that other equally excellent contributions of the participants from 1974-76 were not included in this volume because of budgetary and other constraints. It is my sincere hope, after having been honored to serve as the coordinator of the seminars, that all my colleague-participants will regard these four papers as their representatives and that the authors of the papers will feel that their contributions are on behalf of all 35 participants. *

I should like to acknowledge the help and support of three successive directors of the East-West Communication Institute, Dr. Michio Nagai, Dr. Wilbur Schramm, and Dr. Jack Lyle, all of whom made the seminars possible and successful. Ms. Merry Lee San Luis, the Program Officer in charge of the seminar, devoted herself whole-heartedly to this most difficult task. Last but not least, the series of seminars was made possible with the help and assistance of the researchers and supporting staff of the East-West Communication Institute and of the greater East-West Center community.

* The list of participants appears on pages xiii-xvi. The papers cited on pages xvii-xix are available upon request from the Resource Materials Collection, East-West Communication Institute, 1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848.

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HEROES: EAST AND WEST
July 8 - August 2, 1974

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*The affiliations of the participants are those at the time of the seminars.

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TRADITIONAL MEDIA

July 7 - August 1, 1975

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POPULAR IMAGES OF AMERICA

July 6 - July 30, 1976

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POPULAR CULTURE SEMINARS PAPERS, 1974-76*

HEROES: EAST AND WEST
July 8-August 2, 1974

"Folk Heroes of Nepal," Joshi Tulsi Diwasa

"Comics, Rebellion, and Ecology," Hidetoshi Kato

"Heroes of Hong Kong Children," Theodore J. Marr

"Hero Images as They Appear in Korean Primary School Textbooks," Sang-Hwe Lee

"Heroes of Filipino Comic Books Before and After Martial Law: A Content Analysis," Karina C. David

"Value Patterns of Life, and Behavior Patterns of Heroes in Serial Fiction from 1945 to 1973," Hiroyoshi Ishikawa

"Indonesian Heroines," Satjawati Suleiman

"The Re-cycled Hero: Walt Disney's Davy Crockett," Margaret J. King

"The Traditional and Contemporary Malay Literary Hero," Mohamed Haji Salleh

"Literary and Real Life Heroes of China's Cultural Revolution," Marilyn McCullough

"Heroes and Anti-heroes in Contemporary Police Stories," Lee D. Rossi

"Heroes in Early and Modern Ceylon: Dutugamunu Parakramabahu I, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and S.W.R.D. Bandranaike--Kings and Political Leaders," Bertram Bastiampillai

TRADITIONAL MEDIA
July 7-August 1, 1975

"Mela or Folk Festivals of Bangaladesh," Mustafa Zaman Abbasi

"The Village Fair in a City Environment," Joseph Dudley Fernando

*This listing includes all the papers from the three seminars except for those included in this volume.

"The Socio-cultural Significance of Traditional Gathering Centers in a Peasant Fishing Community in Malaysia," Mohammed Dahlan HjAman

"Coffee, Tea, or . . . ?--The Role of 'Stimulants' in Human Communication," Hidetoshi Kato

"Disneyland and Walt Disney World: Traditional Media in Futuristic Form," Margaret J. King

"The Effects of Mass Communication on Taiwanese Opera (How Television Has Modified Taiwanese Opera)," Fang-mei Lee

"Where It's At: Popular Culture Revisited," Floyd W. Matson

"Naghalli or Story-Teller's Art and Craft and the Impact of Mass Media upon This Traditional Medium in Iran," Kazem Motamed-Nejad

"Sirih: The Leaves of the Sirih Plant, a Traditional Medium in Indonesian Societies," Rumbi Mulia

"Theatrical Forms of Communication in Black Africa," Alfred E. Opubor

"Rodighar: Where People Gather, " Ram Dayal Rakesh

"Traditional Media," Hassan K. Ranganath

"Traditional and New Communication Forms in Fiji," Manoa Rasigatale

"Japan: Communication Mores in Places Where People Gather," Michitaro Tada

"The Effects of Industrialization on the Philippine Komedya," Nicanor G. Tiongson

"A Sense of Place and the Sacred in Native American Tradition," Barre Toelken

"LI-KE, Traditional Folk Media of Central Thailand," Surapone Virulrak

POPULAR IMAGES OF AMERICA
July 6-July 30, 1976

"Unflattering Definitions: Significant Stereotypes of Americans in European (French and Italian) Comics," Arthur Asa Berger

"The Maple Leaf and the Stars and Stripes: Canadian Images of America," Valerie Broege

"One View of America: Children and Childhood in Periodical Literature, 1901-1905 and 1971-1975," Everette E. Dennis

"The Images of America: A Case Study of the Perceptions of Students and Professionals in Mysore, India," Harogadde S. Eswara

"The Browning of America," Jack Lyle

"Portrayal of American Image through PAK Press 1947-1971," Ikram Ali Malik

"Image of America in Iranian Mass Media," Kazem Motamed-Nejad

"The Image of America in Indonesia," Satjawati Suleiman

PETTICOAT GOVERNMENT:

IMAGES OF

THE AMERICAN WOMAN

IN JAPAN

Shunsuke Kamei

Before Japan opened her doors to the western world in 1854, the only Japanese who had ever seen America were a small number of castaway sailors who were saved by American ships and taken to the United States. The most famous among them were Nakahama Manjirō (who was given the English name John Mung) and Hamada Hikozō (English name, Joseph Heco; Japanese nickname, Amerika Hikozō). [1] They were young when they landed in America, and had a lively curiosity about the various aspects of American life. One thing which especially fired their interest was considered to be the strange relation between men and women, or the high position of the American woman in the home and in society.

After returning home in 1852, Manjirō, in his affidavit Hyōryū Manjirō Kichō Dan [Castaway Manjirō's homecoming story], [2] told about the American way of marriage: "They become husband and wife, only by declaring to God that they have gotten married, and without distributing presents as we do in Japan. After they have gotten married, the husband, without any hesitation, always takes his wife pleasure-seeking. Their customs and manners are lascivious, but it is said that they maintain their morals well." The Puritan people of Fairhaven, Massachusetts, who showed great affection to Manjirō, would have been astounded should they have known that their way of living was called "lascivious." To Manjirō, however, American marriage without distributing presents must have seemed to be frivolous, and a married woman's "pleasure-seeking" to be self-indulgent. Nevertheless, in general, Manjirō favored American married life. He continued to say: "Their conjugal relations are extremely intimate, and their home life is the most harmonious in the whole world."

Hikozō, on the other hand, emphasized in his Hyōryū Ki [Story of a castaway], published in 1863, the solemn religious process through which Americans married. This observation was possible perhaps because he belonged to the Catholic church. As for the relationship between the sexes, he said: "In America one-husband-one-wife-ism [monogamy] is established, and for a married man it is prohibited to hire a prostitute, not to speak of keeping a mistress. If he violates this order, he is sometimes punished." These observations, apparently opposite to Manjirō's, must have

given an impression that America, as compared with the Japan of those days, was a strictly moral country.

In 1860, the first Japanese embassy to the United States, composed of 77 samurai (warriors), crossed the Pacific.[3] Because of their position and situation, they saw, unlike the shipwrecked sailors, the more or less public aspects of American life. But their eyes, too, fell frequently upon women.

On the day when they made a formal call on President James Buchanan, Vice-Ambassador Muragaki Norimasa recorded in his diary his criticism of the President's plain clothes and plain manners. At the same time, he wrote: "It was very strange that many women, well dressed, presented themselves on such a [state] occasion." In Muragaki's view, these are symptoms of America's being a country "of no distinction between high and low, and of no sense of propriety whatsoever."

Almost every other member of the embassy was likewise astonished at the fact that women attended state functions. Tamamushi Sadayū describing the audience with the President, wrote in his dairy that "even women, well ornamented, stood in lines right and left, and there was no distinction of the sexes." He also wrote that his colleagues, who had called at the official residence of the Secretary of State, told how "women were not only in attendance there but also they were taking each other's hands and behaving affectionately toward each other." Tamamushi's way of writing, however, is sympathetic rather than otherwise.

Next evening, a ball was given at the residence of the Secretary of State. Dumbfounded by what was called "dansu," Muragaki wrote in his diary: "Women exposed their naked shoulders, and many of them put on white, thin cloth . . . And men and women, arm in arm, put up their legs high and went round and round just like dancing mice. I didn't find any taste, any art." Muragaki tried to excuse this behavior by attributing it to the difference of customs, but he must have considered this party to be a manifestation of the corruption of morals in America. Similar observations are recorded in the diaries both of Morita Kiyoyuki, an older man of forty-nine years, and of Hidaka Keisaburō, a young man of twenty-two years.

On on evening several days later, a dinner party was given at the White House. As the President was single at that time, his niece Harriet Lane played the hostess. In Muragaki's dairy is recorded what he thought about her manner: "Lane was just like the master of the house and entertained the guests in various ways. She held authority just like that of a Queen, and the President looked like her primeminister." A woman reigned over a man--this must have baffled Muragaki completely.

The same kind of observations were made at places other than the White House. Fukuzawa Yukichi, who was to become one of the greatest and most popular leaders of modern Japan, traveled on board the Kanrin-maru, the escort-ship of the embassy, and when it arrived in the United States he looked around the San Francisco area. In his very famous autobiography, Fukuō Jiden [Fukuzawa's autobiography] (1889), he

tells of his experience at a doctor's house: "What is most strange is that the wife appears, sits down in the drawing room, and eagerly entertains the guests, while the husband is moving busily around, serving us food and drinks. This is strange, quite contrary to Japanese customs. The natural way is that the husband entertains the guests while the wife moves around and serves food and drinks, but the American way is strange."

These observations which the Japanese made when they had seen American life for the first time, seem to present two images of the American woman, although they overlap each other. One is the image of a gay, showy, and "lascivious" woman that goes "pleasure-seeking" even after her wedding, exposes the body in public, and abandons herself to whimsical "dansu." The other is the image of a moralistic, authoritative, and commanding woman that forces monogamy upon society, appears on state occasions, entertains the guests, and behaves as a queen. These two images are seemingly inconsistent with each other, but actually they are not. Put together, they show an image of a woman who is free and independent, and who reigns supreme. The Japanese saw in America something more than equality of the sexes. Joson Danpi, which literally means "respect for woman and disregard for man," became one of the most commonly used epithets applied to American society. "Petticoat government" became the principal image of the American woman entertained by the Japanese public.

As the Japanese knowledge of American life has deepened, the Joson Danpi images of the American woman, of course, have undergone various changes. Scholars and other specialists in American civilization have tried to correct them. It seems, nevertheless, that they still persist in the popular mind. I do not intend here to discuss how correct these images are. My present concern is to survey the development of these images historically and to try to grasp the mind of most Japanese in their various attitudes towards these images. Some Japanese have openly ridiculed American "petticoatism" and some others have caricatured it, as some Americans themselves often do. But fundamentally the Japanese have been quite serious about it. The Japanese attitudes towards the "petticoat government" of America have reflected their longing for and anxiety about the life style of "modern" civilization.

During the first two decades of the Meiji Era (1868-87), Japan and the United States enjoyed their "honeymoon relations." Americans succeeded in presenting themselves as peaceful neighbors of Japan and the Japanese looked upon America as the champion of "modern" world-views. The movement of Bunmei Kaika (civilization and enlightenment) was vigorously advanced, and a most every aspect of American civilization was studied and imitated. [4] One American custom, however, could never completely persuade the Japanese of its superiority to Japanese custom. This was the custom of Joson Danpi or "petticoat government."

Perhaps one of the first strong impressions that the American woman gave the Japanese populace was the impression that she rides a horse. During the 1860's, when westerners began to come and live in Yokohama, Ukiyoe artists painted many pictures of them. A popular topic among them was an American woman riding a horse. In 1860 alone, for instance, Ichikawa Yoshikazu's "Amerikajin Ryokō no Zu" (Americans Sightseeing), Ichimōsai Yoshitora's "Amerika Bijo" [An American beauty], and Ikkōsai Yoshimori's "Amerika" (America) all present painted figures of the American woman on horseback. In the same year, in America, Tani Bunichi, one of the 77 samurai of the embassy, was also astonished by, and drew a picture of, an American woman riding a horse. Few if any Japanese in those days had ever seen a woman riding a horse. As the American woman's equivalent, they could perhaps only think of Tomoe and Hangaku, strong but rude Amazon-like woman warriors of several centuries before.

Leaders of the Bunmei Kaika movement, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, repeatedly praised the western idea of equality of the sexes. But once the idea was translated into practical customs and manners, it seemed to the Japanese that what was called equality between the sexes was really "petticoat government" and that women in America were more powerful than men, just as Tomoe and Hangaku had been.

Of course the Japanese image of the American woman was not restricted to her seeming prowess at horseback riding. Murata Fumio's Seiyō Kenbunroku [Records of personal experiences in the western world] (1869), one of the most widely read books about western civilization of the day, more minutely presents the manners and customs of the western woman. But here again the author's embarrassment with the "petticoat government" is obvious:

> The most strange of the manners and customs there is that they put women above men. Isn't this an inversion of the order? When a woman guest stands up, men also have to stand up. A man makes room for a woman, and takes off his hat when he meets a woman. It is considered impolite to smoke in the company of women, only because women don't smoke. Widows openly marry again. And if she is in a family of more-than-middle-class property, the wife is not concerned with domestic works, while the husband busily works outside; she does not attend to the matters of the family's foods and clothes as the Japanese wife does, and has no duties at all.

Similar descriptions of the western woman, especially those of the American woman, appeared again and again in popular books of overseas information as well as travel sketches of the western world. One of the best books among them, Inoue Enryō's Ōbei Kakkoku Seikyō Nikki [Politico-religious diary during travel in America and European countries] (1899), succinctly epitomized this kind of observation of the American woman: In the United States, while there is no high-and-low distinction of class, there is . . . respect for women and disregard for men."

There were, of course, a few intellectuals who responded more positively to the idea of equality between the sexes. Mori Arinori, the first Japanese minister resident in America (1870-73), published in 1874 an essay entitled "On Wives and Concubines" in the Meiroku Zasshi [Journal of Meiji 6] which he, Fukuzawa, and some other leaders of Bunmei Kaika had founded a year before. There, apparently adopting the viewpoint of the American idea of equality between husband and wife, Mori criticized the Japanese customs of concubinage. He concluded the essay by asserting that if no reform were made "foreigners might perhaps look upon our country as a great lascivious country, and not without good reason." The following year, he translated his words into action by carrying out a "contract marriage," in which husband and wife made a contract with each other on equal terms.

Mori's essay, however, was severely criticized. Katō Hiroyuki, who later became the president of the University of Tokyo, wrote an essay "On the Current Evil of Equality between Husband and Wife," in which he pictured the image of western women in a way similar to Murata's Seiyō Kenbunroku, and emphasized that what was called equality between husband and wife in the western world was actually putting women above men, and its evil would soon become uncontrollable, if the Japanese would not stop it at once.

Nakai Hiroshi, in his Manyū Kitei [Travel sketches] (1877), one of the best travel sketches of those days, said: "It seems that Europeans and Americans make it a matter of great importance to love, respect, and help women, to pay regard to equality between the sexes, and to want a comfortable living." But, he continued to say, these endeavors are only "decorations to civilization," and "in lower-class society no one hesitates to smoke in the company of women and do naughty things to them; no one embellishes one's moral conduct." Nakai even insisted: "Superficial scholars indiscriminately quote Westerners' opinions and preach that Japan is a great lascivious country in the East while the Western countries are the world of sages. Ah, how shallow, and erroneous their ideas are!"

During the period in which the "civilization and enlightenment" movement flourished, however, Japanese criticism of equality between the sexes and woman's supremacy was somewhat timid, for it was after all the custom of the respectable Western world. But when the Japanese had gained some self-confidence after the two decades of "modern" Japan's development, and when nationalism became powerful, criticism against Joson Danpi became stronger. Many people saw in it a manifestation of the hypocritical nature of western civilization; they believed that Joson Danpi was nothing more than an outward show of man's unsubstantial kindness towards woman. And in their view, America was the strongest representative of western hypocrisy, for the custom of Joson Danpi was the most dominant in the United States.

In August 1893, Kitamura Tōkoku, one of the most prominent literary critics of the time, wrote a letter to his wife Mine, in which he denounced American Joson Danpi. Previous to this, Mine seems to have complained to him of his cool attitude

towards her. Kitamura scolded her, saying that she was "trying to make me into an American husband." He also declared: "Ah, of late, American women's lack of virtue and their arrogance, and American husbands' hypocritical attitudes towards their wives, are well-known in the whole world. And yet there are some persons who want to introduce these attitudes into Japan, a country whose customs and manners are completely incompatible with those of America."[5]

Two years later, Uchimura Kanzō, the most influential leader of Japanese Christianity, published his spiritual autobiography written in English, How I Became a Christian (1895). In it he pointed out, as one of the "unchristian features" of America, "men's hypocritical love toward their wives."

Nitobe Inazō, Uchimura's friend whose life-long effort was to play the role of "a bridge over the Pacific," pleaded for the Japanese relation between husband and wife. In his famous book in English, Bushidō (1899), emphasizing the "self-control" of the Japanese gentlemen, he said: "A husband would not kiss his wife--no, not in the presence of other people, whatever he might do in private! There may be some truth in the remark of a witty youth when he said, 'American husbands kiss their wives in public and beat them in private; Japanese husbands beat theirs in public and kiss them in private.'"

-3-

Joson Danpi was thus regarded in Japan as a superficial and hypocritical custom. But when one travelled or lived in the United States, one had to cope with it, not only mentally but also physically. There were, generally speaking, two ways of meeting this problem.

One was a timid attitude, as it were, filled with trepidation. Even Nitobe Inazō, who had received a fair amount of American-type education before going to the United States, confessed a blunder of his in the United States in his travel-sketches Kigan no Ashi (which was given the English title "Student Days Abroad") (1907). He described a dinner party he attended as this: "I was determined this time to behave myself well like a gentleman, and made strenuous efforts to . . . present my arm for a lady, to encourage my trembling legs to walk, and to conduct her along the long corridor." Finally, however, at the door to the dining room, "I slipped and stepped on the lady's skirt, and all my gallantry ended in a fiasco after great pains."

In 1909, a group of leading Japanese businessmen headed by Shibusawa Eiichi, often called the "Morgan of Japan," made a four-month tour of the United States, calling themselves the "Embassy of Peace." According to Masaoka Geiyō's record of this tour, Beikoku Ryokō [American tour] (1910), the party members were afraid "lest such irregular events should occur that they would have to walk arm in arm with women--events which they most dreaded." They, therefore, took lessons in the manners of walking that way on board the ship on the Pacific.

This kind of fearful attitude was well cartooned by Okamoto Ippei. In his Shijo Sekai Manga Manyū [A comic world tour on paper] (1924), a record of a group tour of the world on which Okamoto was a correspondent, he inserted a cartoon depicting his experience at a department store in Chicago, to which he gave this explanation:

> We wanted to go upstairs and so we boarded an elevator. A little girl also got on with us. We had been repeatedly told that we should take off our hats in the company of a woman in an elevator, but should we do so for the sake of this little girl of about thirteen years old? We looked at each other and hesitated to do so. But the girl looked hard at our faces. It was more than we could bear. Finally we all placed ourselves in an attitude of attention and took off our hats. Later on . . . our guide told us that in the elevator of a department store we are permitted not to take off our hats in the company of women. A dispute, then, broke out among us about who was wrong in taking off the hat first and who was not, etc., etc.

The other attitude that the Japanese male took in order to contend with the "petticoat government" was to pretend that he was not afraid of the American woman, that he even despised her. Many Japanese in America tried to save their honor by exaggerating or caricaturizing the unseemly aspects of the American woman.

Togawa Shūkotsu, a well-known literary critic, in his Ōbei Kiyū Ni-man San-zen Mairu [23,000 Miles of American and European tour] (1908), emphasizing that America is a "country crazy for gold," said: "It is amazing that waitresses serving at very common restaurants are putting on gilt-edged spectacles; nay, even old women sitting by the roadside and vending newspapers are likewise putting on gilt-edged spectacles." He also pointed out that in a theatre "women, during an intermission, took cookies out of bags and ate them with noisy munching sounds." Putting these and other facts together, Togawa asserted that "America is a very prosaic country."

Tamura Shōgyo, a novelist who studied in the United States for seven years and wrote a number of interesting sketches of American life, depicted in his book Hokubei Sezoku-kan (My Observations of Common Customs of North America) (1909) the "crying posture" of the American woman: "The American woman cries standing upright. Standing upright, looking up to heaven, spreading out her both elbows, and covering her eyes with her fists, she cries majestically. She cries just as a Japanese sword-dancer performs. Crying, she struts along to a desk or a mantelpiece, and, leaning on it still standing, cries raising her shoulders and on a gigantic scale . . . Then, suddenly, she blusters out, continuing so for a great length of time. The strength of her temper is truly amazing." The Japanese reader, who read this passage, may have imagined that all the American women were just like the "Amazons" Tomoe and Hangaku even in their way of crying.

The poor service rendered by American waitresses was also emphasized by many Japanese travelers. Naruse Mukyoku, in his book Yume Tsukuru Hito [A dream maker] (1924), told of his first experience in a cafeteria during his American tour in 1921. "This is far more comfortable and better," says he, "than a restaurant, where we have to be waited upon by a terribly stuck-up American woman, and say 'Please' and 'Thank you' all the time, and nevertheless give a tip, and, when the meal is over, stand up feeling relieved at being able to get rid of her at last."

Sasaki Shigetsu, who spent fifteen years of his youth in the United States, wrote interesting memoirs, Amerika Yawa [Evening talks on America] (1922), in which he ridiculed American women. He described, for instance, American women watching a boxing match: "Many women are around the ring, watching the bloody, naked bodies of two men fighting. Giving shrill cries, clutching their hair, they watch. They are now indeed at the point of white-heat of the sensual desire of woman. Japanese women can never reach this point at all."

-4-

The images of the American woman as arrogant, ignorant, and sensual were emphasized increasingly more strongly as Japan and the United States entered the "strained relations" several years after the turn of the century. Conservative people tried to praise the virtue of the Japanese woman at the expense of the American woman.

However, among those who were shut out from the now established system, or those who were opposed to its authority, there were a few people who found positive meaning in the activities of the American woman. Some Christians, woman suffragists, and liberals serve as good examples. Their number was small, but their opinions were esteemed by a large number of people.

Uchimura Kanzō, although he criticized the American's "hypocritical love," was not blind to the virtue of the American woman. In How I Became a Christian, he told of the matron of the mental hospital in Pennsylvania in which he worked: "No man I know of was firmer than she; yet she was a woman! . . . That woman can rule as well as man was demonstrated to me by this worthy lady beyond any question of doubt. She certainly is a product of Christian America, to whom heathendom with all the grace and virtue of its womanhood cannot bring forth any equal."

Sasaki Toyoshi, a woman advocate of the people's rights and a leader of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Japan, wrote an essay "Fujin Bunmei no Hataraki" [Women's contributions to civilization] in the May 1887 issue of the Jogaku Zasshi [Young women's magazine], in which she praised American women's activities as good models for Japanese women's activities. "In that country," she wrote, "the jobs of telegraph operator, journalist, factory worker, and educator are all open to women. By dint of their energy and skill many women earn an income equal with men's and live independently. Furthermore, another worthy enterprise of theirs is the Christian Temperance Union. I would call their works contributions to civilization.

Even Togawa Shūkotsu, who called America very prosaic, admired American home life. He frankly admitted that the wife contributed greatly to making the home a merry and harmonious place. Ano Jiyūri (probably a pseudonym, this name means "the country of liberty"), in an autobiographical book entitled Yankee-ka Suru Made no Mister Yasuke [The Yankeefication of Mister Yasuke] (1923), emphasized that "American women work very hard . . . and with efficiency." Although he criticized the "petticoat government" and women's moral degeneration in America, he also admitted: "I was deeply impressed by the fact that American women go out into the world and work in a spirit of rivalry with men."

Perhaps the person who most effectively expounded to the Japanese public the spiritual virtues of the American woman was Kuriyagawa Hakuson, whose many books were widely acclaimed. The democratic movement which flourished a short while during and after World War I might have helped his image of the American woman to develop. Anyway, in his Hokubei Inshōki [Impressions of North America] (1920), Kuriyagawa asserted that, although America was dominated by the two tyrants called "the crowd" and "money," it was relieved from cultural disaster by the queen called "woman."

Kuriyagawa, like many others, emphasized that America is a country of Joson Danpi, a "Women's Paradise." He gives an interesting illustration to this theory:

> You can easily see differences among relative positions of men and women in England, France, and America, if you notice how a couple enters the restaurant of a hotel. If the husband and the wife come in side by side, very friendly and smiling, and seat themselves comfortably together, they are French. If the husband comes in first, arrogantly, his hands in his pockets, his chest thrown out, and with a contemptous look at right and left, and if the wife follows after him, they are English. But look! In the United States, the wife comes in first, majestically, with an imposing air. She casts a glance at her subjects on the right and left, and then honorably takes the queen's seat. The husband humbly follows after her. This is the American way.

Kuriyagawa, however, maintains that, "in such a country as America where material development has so rapidly been achieved, men are so busily occupied with the daily jobs that they have no time to do such things as read books." Therefore, he says, "On women's shoulders rest the problems of religion, the arts, literature, and thought in general." Men enjoy watching "low-grade motion-pictures" such as Charlie Chaplin movies and "burlesque-shows in which naked dancers, putting on tights only, madly dance." Women, contrary to this, enjoy and appreciate high-grade plays and fine arts. Lecture meetings and reading circles are also attended mostly by women. American women, Kuriyagawa even declares, are not only large in frame but also advanced in knowledge. And they are engaged in various "worthy activities"

such as religious pursuits, social work, and temperance movements. Kuriyagawa's conclusion is this: "In spite of the tyranny by 'the crowd' and 'money,' American civilization preserves the strength of moving the world; it keeps, on the other side of its materialism, a great spiritual and idealistic beauty. This is possible only through the power of the 'queen'."

-5-

However strong the influence of those exponents of the moral power of the American "queen" may have been, only a small number of Japanese had any clear image of the virtuous American woman. And even those who knew moral virtues of the American woman tended to find a lack of feminine delicacy in her. Tokutomi Ai, with her husband Tokutomi Roka, a novelist, wrote a record of their world tour entitled Nippon kara Nippon e [From Japan to Japan] (1921). Although she expressed in it an admiration for some American women working for woman suffrage, she regretted "the want of their feminine tenderness." She also said: "American women have a bright and lively atmosphere, but don't they lack a graceful, womanly love?"

A great many Japanese, however, were aware of the physical, rather than moral, power of the American woman and even adored it. They found in the American woman not only the physical beauty but also the physical charm of a liberated woman, which the Japanese woman did not have.

Nagai Kafū, a famous novelist, was critical of America's materialistic civilization. Apparent in his first great literary work, Amerika Monogatari [Stories about America] (1908), however, is the spirit of freedom of modern humanity, which he discovered in the United States. He defends, for instance, an American girl who kissed her love in the presence of others, saying that "the Japanese learned men who are bound by the Discourses of Confucius . . . will call her a shameful, or a lascivious, woman," but "in this country of freedom there are no troublesome teachings that go against the natural feelings of humanity." And he expresses his admiration for American women's physical charms:

> I admire the physical beauty of Western women. Not only do I love their loins of bewitching curves, expressive eyes, shapely shoulders, plump arms, buxom breasts, and even their feet with their little, high-heeled shoes, but I also immensely respect their quick and smart ways of taking up the latest fashion. They cleverly choose the colors and style of their clothes according to their hair, features, and figures. Even if they are of only plain personal appearance, they charm men's eyes as though they were great beauties. But now, turning to the Japanese women, I cannot but feel that they do not have this kind of ability at all. The Japanese are a scandal-mongering and interfering nation, and so the delicate women brought up here are perhaps always shrinking with fear and unable to show themselves to the best advantage.

Nagai was a well-known esthete. But ordinary Japanese men, too, often had similar impressions of the American woman. In 1925, about 120 high-school students made a group tour of America for the sake of "friendship between Japan and America." According to Gakusei no Mita Amerika [America viewed by students] (1925), the record of the tour edited by Nakamura Yoshihisa, they were strongly critical of the customs of Joson Danpi. To cite only one example, Shimomura Kōichi observed that "American women are much too self-indulgent and boisterous." The same student, however, frankly admitted the physical charms of the American woman. "The first thing that attracted my eyes when I landed," says he, "was women's make-up. Whether young or old, American women were in general very skilled in applying make-up. I was more than astonished; I felt a kind of mysterious charm lying in their cosmetics. And, indeed, their well-formed figures and shapely legs are what we can never see in Japanese women."

In 1930, a unique book entitled Amerika Fujin [American women] appeared. Its author Satō Yagyū, while emphasizing that "America is a country of the Almighty Women" and that "American women are all Tomoes and Hangakus," actually devoted the main part of his book to describing the physical beauty of American women; he devoted 155 pages to reporting the Miss America Contest of 1930.

Needless to say, the most effective vehicle for conveying the physical charms of the American woman to the Japanese public was movies, however distorted they may have portrayed her. Before the introduction of movies, images of the American woman were more or less conceptionalized and abstract, but through the screen it had suddenly become possible for the Japanese public to watch American women, as though face to face with them. And, although authoritative intellectuals bitterly denounced and despised movies, the general public applauded them. Hollywood stars became "queens" even in Japan.

Tanizaki Junichirō, in his famous novel Chijin no Ai [An idiot's love] (1924-25), treats a man's almost idiotically passionate love for a libertine, a lascivious woman called Naomi. And here this passion is often explained in terms of adoration (by the author himself, the protagonist, and the Japanese in general) of the American woman represented by Hollywood stars. Tanizaki, for instance, sometimes calls Naomi a "Yankee girl," because she has not "the Japanese woman's gravest defect of . . . spiritless appearance" and behaves like a woman having plenty of confidence in herself. In Tanizaki's view, Mary Pickford, who was taken for the most innocent and angelic in the United States, seemed to look vampish. He describes Naomi as "bearing some likeness to the movie star Mary Pickford." He also describes her techniques of stimulating men's passion, in a scene where the protagonist looks at the pictures Naomi has left in his room:

> There were many pictures of her, showing her various looks and actions, many of which were imitating movie stars--the smiling face of Mary Pickford, the eyes of Gloria Swanson, the furious features of Pola Negri, the flourishingly mincing pose of Bebe Daniels, and indignant, sweet, dispirited, entranced

expressions of many other actresses. As I looked at them one after another, expressions of her face and carriage of her body changed in succession. Every one of those pictures demonstrated that she was very sensitive, skillful, and clever in matters of this kind.

Thus, although the protagonist fully knows Naomi to be "a natural vamp," he prostrates himself before her "mysterious charms." This novel was welcomed by the public so much that the word "Naomism" became popular.

Tade Kuu Mushi [Every man to his taste] (1928-29),[6] demonstrates Tanizaki's longing to return to Japanese tradition. Still, the author does not deny his longing for what the American woman emanates from her body. In one place, a person observes that "of late [Japanese] women's make-up is more or less influenced by American movie stars, so that they inevitably resemble prostitutes." The protagonist, however, loves these "prostitute-like" cosmetics. "He liked," the author notes, "to watch Los Angeles-made films better than Kabuki plays. The world of American pictures which tries nothing but to flatter women and incessantly creates new beauties of women was, though vulgar, near to his ideal dreams."

From about the time when the word Naomism was popular to the time when militarism assumed control of Japan (roughly speaking, in the second half of the 1920's and the first half of the 1930's), American manners and customs, assisted by the influence of movies, rushed into Japan. The "flapper" style of American girls of the "Jazz Age" helped to create in Japan the fashion of "moga" (modern girls), that is, the young urban girls apparently trying to be free from traditional moral and social manners. They put on short skirts, walked light-heartedly on the street, and even danced. However "vulgar" this fashion may have looked, it cannot be denied that many Japanese felt in it the bliss of "modern" life.

The conservative or traditionalist forces, however, were not silent about this. They attacked, for instance, Tanizaki's Chijin no Ai so effectively that its serial publication in the daily paper Asahi was suspended and a while later it was resumed in a monthly magazine named Josei (Women). Likewise they attacked American civilization and the American life-style. In the popular image, therefore, America was represented by the phrase "ero guro nansensu" (erotic, grotesque, and of nonsense). In addition to this cultural counter-reaction, Japan and the United States in politics had already passed the period of "strained relations" and were approaching that of "colliding relations." It was, in a way, natural that degenerated aspects of the American woman and her "petticoat power" were criticized even more bitterly than before.

Ishikawa Tatsuzō, in his Saikin Nanbei Ōrai Ki [A record of my recent tour in South America] (1931), admitted that "North America is at the head of civilization." A good illustration of this fact, he said, is that unlike easy-going South American girls, "bobbed girls of North America work hard as sales girls, gasoline girls,

business girls, and many others, and share a part of the national production." Nevertheless, Ishikawa was not optimistic. "Youths who have no time to pursue true love because of their hard labor," he said, "turn to sensual desire without love and inevitably corrupt public morals. This trend is already seen in the United States now. And the Japanese nation is importing even this."

Among many such opinions as this, Ikezaki Tadataka's denunciation of the American woman was typical but violent. In a book entitled Sekai o Kyōi-suru Amerikanizumu [Americanism that threatens the world] (1930), he says:

> To watch movies, enjoy driving, listen to radio, be excited at sports, play cards at casinos in the daytime, and take pleasure in free social intercourse with the other sex at dance-halls in the evening, are some instances of the pleasure-seeking lives in present-day America. The desire of the Americans who insatiably seek these kinds of pleasure is not different at all from the desire of the barbarians who found the supreme pleasure in momentary, sensual excitements. Bobbed hair, wanton marriages, flippancy, garrulity, semi-nudity, smoking, and drinking--such are some characteristics of the Yankee girl. And if we take off from her the showy ornaments of materialistic civilization which thickly covers her, there remains nothing but a stark naked body just as of a Dahoman or a Bushman who places all of life's emotion only in boisterous dances and drinking.

The widely different images of the American woman in Japan, closely connected with the divided Japanese attitudes towards the Joson Danpi customs in America, do not seem to have fundamentally changed. At least, it seems that they still exist in the popular mind.

During World War II, very few authors mentioned the moral power of the American woman. Yamanaka Minetarō, one of these few, maintained in his Yōki Amerika [Western devil America] (1943)[7] that Yankee girls are "active" and "skillful" workers, although he did this only because he wanted to spur Japanese women to work more. Most authors did not have even this kind of consideration. All the information media did everything in their power to deprecate American civilization. The American woman and her "petticoat power" were capital targets for their abuses.

To cite only one example will be enough here. The Shufu no Tomo [Housewives' companion], which acknowledges itself as a Japanese counterpart of the Ladies' Home Journal, has been speaking for the Japanese middle-class, conservative woman. When democracy flourished a while around World War I, in it appeared articles about hard-working, diligent, and moral women of America. Towards the end of World War II,

in January 1945, however, it carried an article "Kono Honsyō o Miyo! Doku-jū Amerika Onna" [Look at the true character revealed now! Poisonous brute American women]. Here the author Yasuda Genshirō, taking up the fact that many young American girls desire to become movie stars, declares: "The American women are all drawn to the life of the pomp, luxury, and wantonness of movie stars." Relating the history of Joson Danpi in America, he also says: "Once tired of married life, the American women throw away their husbands like toilet-paper and indulge in quite unrestricted sexual acts." He concludes that the American women are "living the life of beasts."

When Japan surrendered, however, these beastly images of the Joson Danpi women of America were beautified at a blush. "The highness of social culture," "the firm self-dependence," and like characteristics, of the American women were praised in many articles in the Shufu no Tomo as well as many other women's magazines. It was as if there were no low-cultured or dependent women in America. It was stated as a fact that "in America, there never exists a man who does not do kitchen work or sweep," as if this were evidence of the superiority of American civilization. [8]

Of course, it must be noted here that, since the end of World War II, tremendous changes have been taking place in Japanese life, including relations between men and women. Japanese women now have civil rights equally with men; they go out into the world and work in every field of society; and a considerable number of women have seats in the National Diet. Social manners have also been changing. Women, especially young ones, express their opinions quite freely as men do; they wear light dresses, often without hesitation to expose their bodies; and they enjoy "pleasure-seeking" even after their marriages.

It is needless to say that these changes have caused the Japanese to modify their images of the American woman. Nevertheless, to the Japanese populace's eyes, America is even now more "modern" than Japan is and, as a symptom of it, the American woman still keeps her "petticoat government." Even the Woman's Liberation movement in America seems to have been accepted in Japan as a good illustration of the terribly splendid power of the American woman or of her dominance over man.

What is lacking in the Japanese images of the American woman is the image of a real living woman whose life lies in the common affairs of everyday as the Japanese woman's does. The American woman, like the Japanese woman, must have complex human feelings which are both strong and weak, and which contain both dreams and frustrations. Perhaps it is difficult to make this kind of inner life of human beings into a clear image or images. Without it, nevertheless, images of the American woman will continue to sway between almost superhuman extremes.

Some approaches to the inner life of the American woman seem to have been started, however. A novelette called Virginia (1968) by Kurahashi Yumiko, a popular Kafka-esque woman novelist, is one example. Near the opening of the story,

Kurahashi describes the "typical" American woman: "The American woman as I think her to be is a combination of the faces of several Hollywood actresses whom I dislike, of the old-age body which is either as skinny as a cochin or as fat as a hogshead, of a series of 'virtues' such as vulgarity, ignorance, and insensibility (it is America's peculiarity that such features can be virtues there), and of various other indescribable elements." This image is actually nothing but a combination of the "petticoat government" images of the American woman, both of its "lascivious" and "moral" sides. It may be "typical," but it is not the reality of the American woman. Kurahashi, however, deals in this novelette with an American girl named Virginia, whom she calls "a woman definitely different from what I arbitrarily assume the typical American woman to be." And when she describes Virginia's inner world as "embracing a golden ego which looks like a lump of salmon roe ready to crumble apart," it occurs to the reader's mind that Virginia might be nearer to the reality of the American woman than the "typical," for she is at least more human than the "typical."

The customs of Joson Danpi in America, whether they are reality or not, or whether they are favored or not, have been to the Japanese a symptom of "modern" civilization. It seems, however, that the time is arriving for them to try to understand and realize the "human" reality which lies behind the popular images.

NOTES

1. In this paper all Japanese names are given in the Japanese order of surname first.
2. Reprinted in Ishii Kendō (ed.) Ikoku Hyōryū Kitan-shū [Collection of castaways' strange stories about strange countries] (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōrai-sha, 1971).
3. The records of this embassy are collected in Nichi-Bei Shūkō Tsūshō Hyakunen Kinen Gyōji Un'eikai (ed.) Man'en Gannen Ken-bei Shisetsu Shūsei [Historical materials on the 1860 mission to the United States], 7 vols. (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1960-61). Muragaki Norimasa's diary, which is not included there, is printed in several books, among them Nichi-Bei Kyōkai (ed.) Man'en Gannen Daiichi Ken-Bei Shisetsu Nikki [Diary of the first Japanese embassy to the United States, 1860] (Tokyo, 1918). Tamamushi Sadayū's diary, likewise unavailable in the collection above, is printed in Numata Jirō and Matsuzawa Hiroaki (eds.) Nihon Shisō Taikei [Masterpieces of Japanese thought], vol. 66 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974).
4. Bunmei Kaika, literally meaning "civilization and enlightenment," was a slogan of the national movement of Japan's modernization, which started simultaneously with the start of the new centralized government of Meiji and lasted for about two decades. "Civilization" here actually meant western civilization and "enlightenment" meant learning and acquiring western culture. The Bunmei Kaika movement was, therefore, to a large extent a movement toward Japan's westernization. When the Japanese had gained some self-confidence as a modern nation, this movement came to an end.
5. Katsumoto Seiichirō (ed.) Tōkoku Zenshū [Collected writings of Tōkoku] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1950-56), III, 227-230.
6. The title of the popular English version of this novel, translated by Edward Seidensticker, is Some Prefer Nettles.
7. During the war, the Japanese word Yōki, meaning Western Devil, was very often used as a substitute for the English word Yankee, both words having very similar sounds.
8. Round-table talk "Amerika no Musume Kyōiku" [Girls' education in America], Shufu no Tomo (February 1946), 22-28.

CHANGING IMAGES OF AMERICA IN KOREAN POPULAR LITERATURE

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HISTORY: SHAPING OF TWO IMAGES OF AMERICA

While the United States of America celebrates the Bicentennial of its founding in 1976, Korea marks the Centennial of the opening of its ports. Korea's traditional isolation was brought to an end by the Kang-wha Japan - Korea Treaty in 1876 and the American - Korea Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation in 1882.

On the pretext that one of the Japanese oceanic survey vessels had been fired upon from a Korean fort, Japan forcibly imposed a western-style treaty on Korea. Although it was signed under pressure from Japan, it was not only the first treaty which Korea had ever made with a foreign country in accordance with western international law, but the one which brought the first opportunity for Korea to enter into the world political arena. It also initiated domestic modernization, because the treaty became a social and cultural pipeline through which the current of western civilization flowed into Korea.

In 1882, six years after the Japanese treaty, Korea signed another important treaty, the Treaty of Friendship with America, and opened its door directly to the western world for the first time in its history. When western civilization flooded into Korea from the west, the "Age of Enlightenment" came, and consequently the Korean feudal society started its decline. The idea of Enlightenment in this period found its expression in a desire to replace the traditional society; thus modernization at this time meant westernization. Western civilization and the wave of Enlightenment to Korea brought considerable conflict with traditional social and cultural values. This vortex became the milieu wherein the Korean people formed an image about western countries, including America, in their minds. Since some uneducated Korean people at the present are still unable to distinguish America from European countries, the Korean people of this period might have thought America simply to be a western nation. In fact, they must have had some difficulty developing a separate image for each western country such as America, England, France and Germany.

However among the nations of the west, America was unique in her relation with Korea and her influence on Korean minds, and was seen as benevolent enough to be distinguished from other western nations. No group of foreigners ever enjoyed

greater intimacy at the court of an Asian state than did the Americans during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Unlike the reception given to other western countries elsewhere in Asia, Americans in Korea largely escaped the opprobrium of the "imperialists" label. Later this label became strongly identified with Korea's anti-Japanese nationalistic movement. As to the overwhelming influence on Korea which might have made a separate image of America, Horace Allen, an American diplomat at that time, recalls in his reminiscing book, Things Korean, as follows:

> While the American interests were something of a negligible quantity in the hustling marts that mark Britain's progress from Egypt through the Indian Ocean and the China Sea; in Korea everything deemed to be American and our influence [seems] to predominate, quite reversing the situation as compared with the other foreign settlements of the Far East.[1]

Thus in the nineteenth century, a positive image of the United States prevailed in Korea and America was more influential than any other western country. Professor Lee Kwang Rin, studying the history of Korean-American relations, found Korea's favorable image of American nineteenth century and wrote about it as follows:

> Before the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty of friendship between Korea and America, the Korean people had already had a good impression of America. They thought America would neither want other nation's territory nor interfere with its political affairs, respecting the spirit of justice and humanity. In addition, they believed that Protestantism worshipped by Americans was different from Catholicism. Meanwhile, after the signing of the Treaty, the American people living in Korea at the end of Yi Dynasty had made every possible effort to help Korea maintain its independence as well as launching the Enlightenment Movement. Such assistance gave the Korean people a good impression of America.[2]

As Professor Lee writes, the intelligent people in the nineteenth century were positively inclined toward America and advocated that Korea establish diplomatic relations. To the Korean people, who were in the crisis of losing their nation, America was seen as a beneficient and generous nation. For instance, Kang Eui, a famous poet, scholar and critic, pointed out that "among many foreign nations, only America loves peace. Many oriental countries trusted America because she respected justice, and showed no intention to take other nation's territory."[3] In case a nation received aid or support from America, all other nations, they thought, would be on good terms with it, and the Korean people thought if America supported Korea, no other country would invade their nation. A most important publication

was published and circulated among Korean intellectuals in 1880. It was called the Chosun Cheak Ryak [Korea strategem]. Through this publication the so-called "Alliance with America" was propagated. As an important book that carries a view of alliance with America and the idea of receiving western culture and civilization, it made recommendations to the King of Korea on some important decisions to respond to world politics. The image of America expressed in the alliance with America as the Korea Strategem saw it is as follows:

> The American Territory was a colony of Great Britain. But George Washington does not like the oppression of Europe fought against the tyranny of England to achieve independence. With the democratic lesson of George Washington, a country was founded. This nation does neither want to take other countries' territory nor interfere with other countries' political affairs. Although it had been about ten years since it had a treaty with China, it never wanted even an inch of Chinese territory. As the world has known, in relation with Japan, it has consoled Japan by maintaining a commercial trade, training the Japanese army, and helping the amendment of a treaty. Furthermore, it respects justice, helping the small and weak countries.[4]

Thus through this publication, the image of America as a power which had guarded and supported the smaller nations in order to keep peace was already formed.

Yoo Kil Joon, the student of Fukuzawa Yukichi[5] who was a prominent leader of the Japanese westernization movement, went to the United States with Min Yong Ik as a member of a goodwill delegation--Special Mission for Friendship and Peace of 1883. Both men became leaders of the Korean Enlightenment and Reform movement. In the United States, Yoo became the first Korean foreign student and studied American society. After he returned home, he published a quite significant book that helped the image of America. It was called the So Ryu Kyun Moon [What I saw and heard on my western journey], and was mainly circulated among intellectuals.[6] Through his book which was based on personal observations, Yoo made the life and scene of America very realistic and positive. This is regarded as the second most important publication after The Korean Strategem and strongly influenced favorable images of America in the hearts of Koreans.

Min Yong Ik, who visited America with Yoo, confessed to himself after he returned that, "I was born in the dark. I went out in the light, now I have returned into darkness again. I cannot yet see my way clearly but I hope I will soon." For this reason he was called for a discussion by the Korean King. In the presence of the King, he was asked about American images when he visited there. This is a transcript of one of their conversations:[7]

King: Judging from the American ambassador staying here, I can imagine that America is benevolent, can't I . . . ?

Subject: Since America has a huge land to produce plenty of rice and its people are diligent, the commercial business increased and no country could be compared with this nation.

King: During your tour, which country that you saw is the most prosperous? All the western people here told me that Paris is the best place.

Subject: According to my observation, New York is the best. Of course, Paris is prosperous, but New York is the better one.

King: Have they built enough military power?

Subject: The wealth and power of the western countries lies chiefly in commercial business. If a war breaks out, each country will close its port. But America could be powerful without building military power.

The period of 1880-1905 is characterized by the introduction of western learning and translating of works of western literature into Korean. This is the era of the "New Literary Movement," and novels are called "New Novels." New novelists felt also the urgency of Enlightenment and Reform. The New Novels imitated the western-style novel and gave an expression of western values. The setting of these novels is frequently foreign countries such as America, England and Japan in which western or westernized lives were portrayed. Characters often go abroad to be enlightened at the end of the stories or stories begin with the enlightened characters coming from abroad with western knowledge. The first novel to express these ideas of Enlightenment through westernization was the Hyul Ye Noo [The tears of blood], which was written by Lee In Jik. The Tears of Blood had been serialized in a daily newspaper with great popularity. And the artist also introduced new concepts of enlightened man and society.[8]

Professor Chun Kwang Yong, a scholar of the "New Novels," expressed the civilized western style as a social aspect which constitutes the settings of the new novel:[9]

> A grandson cut his own "topknot" (traditional Korean hair style) in revolt against the old strict rules, and wore the western hair style, taking after the westerners, who came by the "fire-engine boat" or the steam boat. For this reason he cannot communicate with his grandfather, so that they did not like even to see each other. The

> Squires took on the awkward western suits after throwing away their native traditional clothes. They cast the straw-made shoes and "buson" (Korean socks) in order to wear the light suit and leather shoes tightening their toes. The gold-rimmed goggles ("Glasses of Enlightenment") were on their noses and the cane with gold trim ("Cane of Enlightenment") was put in their hands.

The western manners and customs were usually described in terms of "the Enlightenment," because they were accepted as the means of enlightened civilization. The image of America itself was made by such a process of receiving culture. The Moran Bong, an afterpiece of Lee In Zik's The Tears of Blood which had been printed and won popularity in this time is set in the western scene of a hotel in Washington, D C., with western manners and customs:

> Oak, You come down from the bed and make Mr. Koo have a seat in a chair which is placed by the table. There he can sit down on the other side of the table and ring the bell to call a waiter and order some brandy and cookies.[10]

On the other hand, the popular feeling of anti-western civilization goes far back to the early part of the nineteenth century. The antagonistic sentiments were expressed by the Prince Regent, Tae Won Keun, who defeated western naval vessels. The Prince Regent composed a couplet in celebration of the defeat of the invaders, as follows:

> The smoke and dust of the vessels
> of the westerns cover the world
> with darkness:
> But the great light of the East
> Enlighten it through eternity.[11]

The positive ideas of Enlightenment and such a book as The Korean Strategem were assailed bitterly by the traditionalists rejecting "evil's thoughts." The Dong Hak Movement was born. The Dong Hak or Eastern Learning against So Hak or Western Learning, namely Catholicism, became the traditionalist's ideology for negative images of western culture. At the opening of Korea to western civilization, they strongly warned:[12]

> Even trade Korea should not conduct with the west, because if she does, the vicious learning will surely become rampart and the way of Confucius will eventually crumble.

These traditionalists, like the progressive thinkers, came to the fore in political and social circles during the middle and late nineteenth century in Korea. In competition with the positive western image of progressive thinkers, they formed a negative image of westerners. Facing the threat of the opening of a "Hermit Nation," Korea's traditionalists lamented:

> When they fought, the western won;
> whenever they attack, they seize
> There is nothing they cannot realize
> China was finally lost to them entirely
> and we have every reason to worry about
> the same fate for Korea
> Alas! From where can expect a measure to come
> save this country and comfort the populace? [13]

In 1870, the Prime Minister, Kim Byung Hak, who was a traditionalist, called the Americans "barbarians," when he reported to the King about America: [14]

> There had been only villages in America. Meanwhile, a fellow named George Washington appeared and built castles as well as military and began a negotiation with other western barbarians . . .

As stated above, western people were called "savages" by the Korean traditionalists and their civilization was seen as "some thing evil." In contrast to the theory of the Enlightenment, the slogan of the traditionalists was "protect our tradition and expell the western evil." Especially in the process of receiving western culture, the main cause of friction between western values and Korean traditional values was the denial of "the three bonds and five ethical rules in human relations." [15] Since the Catholic church ignored the order of traditional customs, such as the memorial services, it became an object of criticism. In another work, the conservative traditionalists who regarded filial piety as the highest good and "the three bonds and five ethical rules" as the fundamental Confucian moral principles, saw that Catholicism in Korea prohibited the memorial religious service for late parents and their ancestors, and they thought it was a religion which denied parents and made human beings into "animals." Therefore, they declared that Catholicism should be rejected. In consideration of the sentiments of Korean traditionalists, Americans might have tried to project its image of their different Christian religion. Such projection was also expressed in The Korean Strategem:

> Even though origin of Protestantism includes several different sects. This is like the difference in Confucianism between Chu Hsi's Learning and Wang Yang-Ming's Learning. Its tenets prohibit Protestantism from interfering in politics. Many followers of Protestantism are pure in heart and good natured, and China saw no unhappy event after she concluded treaties with Protestant countries. It seems that even if Korea permits Protestant missionary works, it will not do any harm. Protestantism is widespread in America, a country of gentlemen.[16]

Since the westerners were considered as western robbers, it was believed that if communication was made with them, human morality would be in disorder and men might be turned into animals which would permit an ethical invasion. This was the ideological basis for making a negative image of western civilization including America. In 1893 when an anti-western movement began, a strange manifesto was on the wall of foreign village streets. It read:

> . . . We are telling you. You will become foolish, an alien people, if you try to deceive and afflict the people with something absurd. . . You have thrown away the inheritance of your ancestors and follow unreasonable teachings. The society which has no monarch or patent which ancient Saints or Wise men called for, has come today . . . In the old days there was a good government. But at the present time western thoughts have been spread like a web, and illusion and falsity have grown like a weed. What a miserable and painful situation it is![17]

The main ideas of those traditionalists were well reflected in one of the popular ballad songs of the time: the text of the ballad Yong Dam Yoo Sa,[18] follows:

> Than man is lonely
> He said there is no soul
> Did not perform memorial service
> out of the five ethical rules he wants to die soon.
> No parents, no soul.
> But he wants to enter the Heaven.
> Say no more silly custom
> When I heard, it was painful
> When I saw, it was pitiful.

Another ballad is:

In Kyung Sin Year of the Second Half of Zodiac
The wicked western robbers built
a towering Catholic church high
to make the world peaceful
But it is laughable that
this is the same way they invaded China.

As the opposite of the first half of Zodiac, the second half symbolizes the end of good fortune. Since 1860 is year of Kyung Sin, it is the year of the end of good luck. "Dong Hak, the Eastern Learning" saw the western people as the wicked robbers, or dangerous power which would invade the Orient as a whole. Besides the negative image in the popular ballad songs, the image also shaped in an old dramatic form of the Korean folk art, the "Pan Sori." To some extent, nineteenth century Korea is known as the golden period for the "Pan Sori" which has some popular epic form as well as some theatrical elements. It also reflected some negative images of western people. Sin Jae Hyeo, the most famous author of "Pan Sori" wrote a work called "The God Damn Western Barbarians."[19]

God damn, the Western Barbarian
Why didn't you stay at your home?
Shot at the Jong Jok Castle,
Run away in the night.

Why did you come to our land
Change our ethics
For our filical and royal duty
You have shot at Jong Jok Castle
Run away in the night

How dare the Catholic church
With no father, no king
Open the door of the Oriental nation
of Dan Kun, Kie Ja
The Ban Soo Castle is burnt
The remaining boats ran away.

The remarkable thing is that "the Catholic church does not approve the king and father." This is to grasp the western culture through the Catholic church and to repudiate morality and ethics. This is an extension of the view that western people are barbarians, asserting the defense of good and the repudiation of evil.

These songs of the "Pan Sori" once again support the traditionalist values of culture attacking the westerners as barbarians.

This is the historical posture of two images of America: one was propagated by the progressivists and the other by the traditionalists. At first, the images were clearly separate. However, as direct experiences and perceived experiences have evolved, these two clear images have been interwoven emphasizing one aspect or another in the different historical surroundings. For instance, the positive side of the American image that the Korean people had, was not allowed to find its expression during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Of course, America was Japan's enemy during World War II. American's popular image was caricatured as "a villain with an ugly face of big nose, evil incarnate representing the materialistic civilization."[20] Thus the only image of America allowed and available in the popular literature was a strong negative one while the sentiments of hostility of Koreans toward Japan implicitly reinforced the positive image of America. To the Koreans, America was a Liberator and Saviour. The more negative the propaganda against America directed to Koreans by the Japanese, the more positive was the image Korean people built in their minds. This favorable image grew stronger as the Independence Movement intensified. The fact that former president Syngman Rhee told many anecdotes about his exile in America and many patriotic resisters had headquarters in America, made it possible to think that America was the country to liberate and save Korea. The feeling that Korea had towards America became the expectation of a saviour rather than a simple positive feeling.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONTENT OF SHORT STORIES BETWEEN 1945 - 1975

Writers in Korea have usually been ardent advocates of social reform and public Enlightenment. Along with the strong commitment and tradition of the literary movement for enlightenment through westernization, Korean popular media such as newspapers and magazines have been playing an important role in publication and encouragement of literature, and writers of literature have introduced new concepts of man and society. Examination of some of the portrayals of the new man and society seem to be pertinent in understanding the shaping of the image of western life, particularly American life, held by contemporary Koreans.

In order to examine the depicted image of America in contemporary Korean literature, using somewhat qualitative methods, popular general magazines were selected and all the short stories published in these periodicals during the time of the study were investigated. One hundred twenty short stories appeared in the Sin Chun Ji [New world] from January of 1946 to October of 1954; 156 short stories in the Sa Sang Kye [World of thoughts] from February of 1954 to May of 1966; and 268 short stories in the Sin Dong A [New eastern Asia] from September 1964 to December 1975. Beside those general magazines, the Hae Bang Moon Hak or the Collection of Short Stories was included for the early period in postwar literature. Three popular

literary journals, published between 1968 and 1975, the Hyun Dae Moon Hak [Modern literature], the Wol Kan Moon Hak [Monthly literature] and the Han Kuk Moon Hak [Korean literature] were added.

Thus a total of 1,800 short stories was read for this study and 35 stories which portrayed some of the scenes of America were selected. This is intended to give a kind of chronological survey of the changing image of America in contemporary Korean popular literature. Thirty years of literary output was divided into three parts which were distinctively influential in shaping the images. In the 1940's, there was a period of "national liberation" in which the concepts of free and democratic Americans were popularly introduced. America proved itself to be the "liberator" and "saviour" of Korea by terminating the Japanese occupation in Korea. During the second period, between 1949 and 1960, the period of the Korean War came in and the American way of life seemed to be encouraged through experience with American soldiers en masse. After the period of student revolt in 1960 and military leadership of 1961, Korea wanted to develop her national identity and did so through growing popular literature and mass media. There came the third period. From the late 1960's, Koreans started to observe quite a number of foreign tourists, including Americans, and they also themselves became tourists in western countries due to Korea's affluence. These are three periods in which the shaping of the picture of American life is believed to have been influenced distinctively. The number of short stories about the American image are shown in accordance with each period in Table 1.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF SHORT STORIES PUBLISHED ABOUT AMERICA

Period	Number of Stories
1st period 1945-1949	3
2nd period 1950-1960	8
3rd period 1961-1975	24
1st part (1961-1967)	9
2nd part (1968-1975)	15
TOTAL	35 stories

The above table shows that the number of stories increased as the period progresses. In the first period, only three stories were published and in the second period almost three times as many articles appeared in the magazines. In the 1960's and 1970's there were 24 stories. Nevertheless, this increasing number hardly demonstrated

increasing interest in American life because there are differences in degree of availability of magazines for writers in each period and selection of magazines for this study was not proportional in each period. However, this can be to some degree an indication of the increasing amount of descriptive American scenes in Korean literature.

TABLE 2. THEME OF AMERICAN SCENES IN THE STORIES

Period	U.S. Military Administration	Life In and Around Military Base and War	Non-Military Life and Activity
1st period	3		
2nd period		7	1
3rd period		8	16
1st part		(6)	(3)
2nd part		(2)	(13)
TOTAL	3	15	17

During the first and second periods, all the stories except one were about life in the army and the American pictures are closely related with the military troops stationed in Korea. But coming to the third period, we can notice a drastic change in the amount of military depictions compared with pictures of non-military civilian life. In the third period, America as seen through the American military declined to about half the amount of non-military pictures of American life and if we look at the second part of the third period, then we can notice the remarkable change in the picture of military life which is reduced to only two stories out of 15 and the addition of 13 stories about civilian life. Thus with the coming of the third period, the American scene changes drastically, with a much more non-military oriented image of America. The following two tables indicate another parallel of change toward non-militarism in image formation.

TABLE 3. THE LOCATION OF THE AMERICAN SCENES IN THE STORIES

Period	Korean Setting			American Setting
	Urban	Rural	Military Base	
1st period	3			
2nd period	5	1	2	
3rd period	11	4	1	8
TOTAL	19	5	3	8

TABLE 4. OCCUPATIONS OF MAJOR KOREAN AND AMERICAN CHARACTERS APPEARING IN AMERICAN SCENES IN THE STORIES

Period	Korean Characters		American Characters	
1st period	College Student	(2)	American Military Administration	(2)
	Professor	(3)	Unidentifiable	(1)
	Worker at camp	(1)		
2nd period	College Student	(1)	American Military Soldier	(4)
	Interpreter	(2)	Unidentifiable	(1)
	Soldier	(2)		
	Prostitute	(2)		
3rd period	College Student	(4)	American Military Soldier	(6)
	Professor and Teacher	(4)	Peace Corps	(1)
	Worker	(5)	Professor and Teacher	(3)
			Government Official	(1)
			Head of Orphanage	(2)
			Singer	(1)
			Others	(5)

In Table 3, the portrayal of American life is not necessarily based upon life in and around the military installations, but also upon the Korean civilian society. Quite often writers take stories out of the Korean context and describe lengthy scenes in the American society. There is bound to be a more detailed description of American life needed compared with the description in a Korean setting, about which the readers will know much more. In Table 3, none of the stories was developed outside of Korea, and within Korea they were mostly in and around the military bases. But in the third period, eight stories occur in an American setting. The image seems to get away from war experiences and military experiences. Stories about American life stay no longer with American soldiers. Apparently the writer who is describing life in America may need more sophisticated knowledge about America and this may bring more detailed and realistic portraits of America.

Along the line of such progression, the variety of occupations becomes more diverse as Table 4 shows. The first two periods show only military personnel as characters. None of the stories has non-military persons engaging in ordinary civilian life. But in the third period, there appear men and women with various kinds of occupations ranging from women managing an orphanage to a bartender and popular singer manager. There are quite a number of stories about American

intellectuals such as professors and journalists. Americans are becoming more realistic in Korean eyes and the image of richness is also changing.

As Table 5 indicates, poor Americans also appear along with wealthy and benevolent Americans in the stories. Even though there are only eight stories of characters with a limited number, poor Americans were not mentioned in any story. From the middle of the 1960's, there was some recognition of the other side of American richness.

TABLE 5. ECONOMIC STATUS OF KOREAN MAIN CHARACTER AND AMERICAN MAIN CHARACTER APPEARING IN AMERICAN SCENES

Period	Korean Character			American Character			
	Poor	Rich	Average	Poor	Rich	Average	Unidentified
1st period	4	1	1				3
2nd period	7	1			5		
3rd period	10	1	8	4	5	12	1
TOTAL	22	3	9	4	10	12	4

When we look at the commodities and products which are used for symbolizing American scenes in the stories, it is found that remarkable changes of American portrayal have occurred over the past thirty years. Whether tangible or intangible, the items that writers employed for the portrayal of America become more complex. Immediately after the liberation, most of the items depicted in the literature were candies, chocolate bars and chewing gum. In an interior scene of the American house, a luxurious sofa, carpet and electric stove were used. Perhaps we cannot think of American soldiers in a foreign country without their "goodies" with them. In the mind of a Korean, whether he welcome such goodies or not, Americans might have been closely identified with those candies. But war brought other popular items, such as various items from military camps and the American PX. Beside those military supplies, the rest of the items are of special interest to women in Korea. The permanent hair wave was known as a new hair style for a new kind of women, and social dancing was at times a quite symbolic activity for the moral decay of Korean women. In any case, the items in the second period are more varied, but they still are mainly limited to military supplies. The third period shows more popular culture items such as record players, western movies, television fare, popular songs, marijuana, ice cream, hamburgers, and western restaurants. On

the other hand, the third period expresses more about the intangible aspects of America, which might mean that Korean writers now think of America beyond the materialistic aspects of her culture.

TABLE 6. SYMBOLS IN THE AMERICAN SCENE IN THE STORIES

Period	Tangible Commodity	Intangible Commodity
1st period	Luxurious sofa, carpet, electric stove; chocolate bars, American candies, chewing gum	Richness, wealth
2nd period	With items stated above Permanent wave hair, social dance, jazz music, party, military ration box can food, GMC truck, "hallo cap" (soldier cap), PX, American cigarettes, other military supplies.	Jazz music
3rd period	With some of the items a above, car, hamburger, Empire State Building	Jazz, pop song, New York Western movies, rationalism, cold pragmatism, open society, democracy, freedom, richness, paradise for academic work.

It is also interesting to notice the changing description of American physical attributes. As we found in the ballads of Yong Dam Yu Sa and the folk songs of Pan-So-Ri in nineteenth century, Americans were caricatured with such physical attributes as "big nose," "tall stature," and "blue eyed." Again as we see in Table 7, very detailed pictures appear in the third period. One of the short stories that appeared in the third period describes the physical attributes as follows:

> It was very strange. Even his eyes were yellowish. The glossy eye-balls in the deep socket are unpleasantly moving. What a high nose! The nose seems to occupy the whole area of a narrow small face. Under the big nose there comes a short raphe, hollow mouth and the protruded jaw . . . [21]

TABLE 7. PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES OF AMERICANS IN THE STORIES

Period	Physical Attributes
1st period	Tall stature, pallid face, blue eyes
2nd period	Blue eyes, yellow hair, big nose
3rd period	Large hands, sun-bleached hair, golden hair, narrow face, yellowish eye, eyeballs in deep socket, short raphe, hollow mouth, very thick lips (black), very thin lips, lithe body, gentle smile, high nose, long thin nose, man with sick smelling odor, arm with heavy body hair, heavily made-up with cosmetics, pallor but well-shaped body, long hair, long well-shaped legs under the mini skirt.

From those tables we have examined, we may conclude that as we move from the first period to the third, the social setting changes from military to non-military as well as changes from a Korean setting to American setting: occupational characters change from military personnel to various non-military civilians, economic status changes from the characters of only rich persons to the better balanced rich-poor distributions; symbolic items for America change from military items to popular culture items and from tangible items to a combination of tangible and non-tangible items: physical attributes also change from simple descriptions of blue eyes and yellow hair to more detailed and colorful ones. All these changes are particularly noteworthy between the second and third periods. Whether positive or negative, the picture of America in Korean literature seems to develop a more realistic and complex image.

NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF PASSAGES IN CHANGING IMAGE OF AMERICA

When America won a victory in World War II, and Korea was liberated from the Japanese occupation, the Korean people reconfirmed the image of America as a Saviour, Protector, or Liberator. The landing of the American forces in Korea opened a new chapter in the history of Korean-American relations which had begun in 1882. Since that time, Korean-American relations have been friendly. Although Koreans had good images and friendly feelings toward America, this view had been somewhat remote and most Koreans saw few Americans except for missionaries. Now when Americans came to Korea as liberators, they were welcomed. The image that the Korean people had of America was getting closer to the reality of America. But what the Koreans saw was all too often the reality of American soldiers. It was not the reality of the culture and diverse society of America. Nevertheless, to the Korean who understood the "big nose" westerners only as the white with "golden

hair and blue eyes," black soldiers could have provided an opportunity to confirm or change the image they got in their old books or in Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin.

For the first time in their history, the Korean people have imprinted the image of western people rather than Orientals in their world view. The stationing of American troops and military administrators in Korea during the early years of the first period in many ways brought a new experience to Korea. Although the Americans were seen as benevolent and kind and a nation received as a liberator, the resultant image was not entirely free from the danger that some cultural traditionalists saw in having another foreign culture imposing itself. The new situation also produced strong traditionalistic and ethnocentric sentiments, particularly among the cultural elites (including creative writers). The birth of new traditionalists and ethnocentric sentiments was well expressed in three novels published in the first period. Yum Sang Sup in his Yang Kwa Ja Gap [The case of American candy], [22] worries about the possible danger that the culture of Americans will overshadow Korean values. The professor of English in Yum's novel had an American education in English literature. This professor, teaching at a university in the novel, seems to represent the new traditionalist's unfavorable image of America based mostly upon the culture of military troops. He refused to mingle with the American soldiers, deploring the twisted image of America. He is not wealthy enough to have his own house, so he rents a separate room of a residence where a Korean woman, who is the owner of the house, lives with an American soldier. This situation seems to symbolize the state of the Korean cultural elite vis-à-vis the American presence in Korea. He finds that he could not use his knowledge of the English language for such a reception of American culture. He worries that GI culture coated with sweet candies will ultimately endanger the Korean culture, therefore he never allows himself to use English for such deception. But his wife, who is innocent, asks him to associate with people in the American military administration:

> The English you learned in the United States is useless. You didn't have to go to America.

The professor answered:

> Did I learn English to live in this house or to use it just to be interpreter between Koreans and Americans? Did you understand that I went to America to study English just for this damn translation work?

At the end of the story, the professor cries out, "throw that candy box away. While you enjoy these sweet candies and play with the beautifully decorated box, it will bring the bad content of America into this house."

Another novel in the same period is Lee Kwon Yong's Takryu Soke Kanun Park Kyosu [Muddy stream].[23] There appears a similar situation with a professor who deplores the miserable situation of Korea. Again, this represents traditional cultural elites. The writer of the Muddy Stream goes further to indicate the arrogant attitude of the American, who speaks to another professor as follows:

> Business gains much profit within a short time. From this point of view, textile, sugar and raw rubber are the most important. Since Korea has been liberated from Japan, it should receive some international culture . . . You think it is beautiful that the Korean people move around dressed in the white clothes as if they were a flock of sheep. It is nonsense. They look like the ruined patients wandering around.

While the Case of American Candy and the Muddy Stream present images of America reflected in the eyes of Korean intellectuals, in Lee Eon Jing's the Whang Nyunggam [Old janitor], Whang[24] makes accusations against the U.S. military rule through the eye of the son of the old janitor, Mr. Whang. The old man, who served as a courier, is working as a janitor at American army headquarters when the U.S. military rule begins. He becomes more satisfied than at any other time in his life because he does not have to worry about his food. He thinks:

> If I am ten years younger, I would not give up the whole thing, wouldn't I? If I am ten years younger, why shouldn't I go to America? If I were ten years younger, I could learn English as well as the young man can. Then, I can find an opportunity to open a business.

The old man feels happy thinking that he may send his son to America and give him a successful life. But his son thinks that his family should be independent from American troops. When he sees that his father gets some American goods from the American soldiers for cleaning their quarters and gives them to his mother and sister to sell in the market, he feels both sad and shamed. Despite his father's strong insistence, he desperately refuses to be an interpreter for Americans. In these three novels, two professors and one college student are symbolic characters for the new traditional elites who saw American culture very negatively.

In the second period, the time of the Korean War, "girl in the street" became a favorite theme in war-literature. The impact of American troops upon Korean literature has deepened, coming from the U.S. military bases where a large number of American soldiers had been stationed since the Korean war. Thus, the Korean people cannot think about the American army without thinking of prostitutes and the half-breeds. Since many old Korean people had adhered to ancient oriental ethics, they had no opportunity for contact with western civilization and they were not happy with girls with a permanent wave, chewing gum, and heavy make-up. They tried to ignore them as ugly prostitutes. From the time when a large number of U.S. troops landed in Korea, there were many prostitutes available for foreign soldiers. The chaotic social order and poverty of the Korean War brought about an increase in the number of prostitutes for the American soldiers. During the war, many maidens of the respectable families were raped by the U.S. soldiers and they became prostitutes. But these miserable women existed as a necessary evil. Thus came the green door village of the prostitutes where the U.S. dollar could buy sex and where the private cabarets with their colorful vulgar signboards were prosperous. This became a typical scene of American life in Korea. The half-breeds of "American Brides," which is a nickname of the prostitutes for American soldiers, became quite a social issue. Intermarriage of the Korean women and American soldiers as well as their half-breed offspring present a serious conflict with traditional values. Perhaps this is one reason why all of the eight short stories published during this period deal with the problems of the "American brides and their half-breeds." Therefore, most of the American scenes in the Korean literature in this period which are pictured negatively can be understood in the context of such situations.

In reference to the prostitutes and their life with American soldiers, in the Shyori Kim [The little pimp], Kim[25] is one of the most popularly read stories and is representative of novels of the Korean war-literature. The little boy Kim who had once worked in Seoul happened to come to the U.S. military base to work as a little pimp. Meanwhile, he meets a prostitute whom he calls "Sister Darling" and they live together as if they were brother and sister. The writer, Song Byung Soo, describes the life of Americans at the base with Korean girls in the street telling a story of various incidents connected with the Army bases. He states:

> Yankees have too much food and clothes. Therefore, if they get the food and clothes soldiers left over, the Little Pimp boy and his "Sister Darling" will live on. But they did not want that kind of dirty garbage. Once a day he induced one or two and introduced them to his "Sister Darling," that will be enough. From time to time, if a Yankee from the frontline comes to him, in fact, it seems that he finds a gold-mine. Once the G.I. taste a body of a Korean girl, he is destined to follow him, calling "my little pimp Kim." American seems really enjoying the Korean girl. If he has a good

relationship with this kind of foolish American, there comes a large amount of the peppermint candies and the rich ration boxes.

Americans are also portrayed as men of decadence. They are seeking all kinds of sexual pleasures. They even carry pornography with them all the time. On the scene of the "decadent life of American soldiers," the Little Pimp Kim expressed himself as follows:

> There is no photograph without the obscene picture of a woman's breast or the one in which man and woman kiss with their naked bodies. I cannot understand why the Yankee likes it so much. They are really senseless guys. . . .

The American music is also distasteful, so the Little Pimp Kim continues:

> The switch has turned on, and there came the bad quality of light music creating for a while. The Yankees like that kind of sound but the little Kim feels the music is very harsh to his ears, although he tries to appreciate it.

Here is another picture of American military life reported by a Korean journalist in 1966. The village Un-Chon is a typical military base. Un-Chon used to be a quiet rural village which had not even a store. After the American military base came in, Un-Chon has become a business town with a population of over 20,000. The grass-roofed cottages had already disappeared and were replaced by glittering shops with English signboards. It was more awkward to meet the country maidens wearing ribbons than heavily made-up women who demonstrated their near naked bodies and who would make love without hesitation. The traditional bottle gourd was replaced by the tin can, the cotton clothes with the fatigue, the ribbon-tied style with curled hair, and the long Korean skirts with mini skirts.[26] This is a real picture of an American military base in Korea. Where an American military base came in, it destroyed the traditional elements. Here is a portrayal of such a scene of American troops in a traditional town depicted by Ha Kuku Chan in his Wangnung Kwa Joo Dun Keun [Royal tomb and station of American troops], published in 1963.[26]

An old gentleman named Park is enjoying his life taking care of the royal tomb which is a symbol of Korean ethics and tradition. One day American troops are stationed there and the whole town becomes crowded and noisy. "American brides" come along with the troops. At night, American soldiers climb up the

tomb laughing over or playing with girls in the street. Many village girls were taken for love. Park becomes unhappy with this situation and he eventually decides to put up a fence around the tomb. When he starts to put it up, the American troops move out of the town. But he learned that his only daughter, Kum Lye, has gone with an American G. I. After a few years pass, all of a sudden, she appears with a boy who has blue eyes. The old gentleman almost becomes insane.

Further distortion of the American image through sexual exploitation was reported by an American priest named Ernest W. Caston in October 1964. Korean mass media reported his complaints about the immoral sex life of American soldiers in Korea. Father Caston said that about 90 percent of the U.S. troops stationed in Korea had become involved in immoral sexual life. As soon as they arrived at their working place, they began to live in the brothels. When they leave Korea, they often sell their girls along with their houses and furniture to incoming soldiers.[27]

The third period saw the appearance of various themes and treatment of American life. Although it is exceptional treatment, there is one story about free and democratic life in America which is expressed with a discussion of jazz music. Those images of Americans as liberators or saviours which has been molded for Korean people throughout history has strangely not been much reflected in Korean literature. Therefore, it is very significant to find such a scene of democratic and free America as is seen in Kim Won Il's Odoome Chook Che [The rite of the darkness] published in 1967.[28] It is a story about life after the Student Revolution which brought about popular discussion of freedom and democracy. Youngsters in the novel the Rite of the Darkness express somewhat mixed democratic ideals with popular culture through which they see the American value of freedom:

> Jazz, Jazz is the symbol of freedom, isn't it?
> Please tune the dial on the AFKN (The American
> Forces Korean Network).
> Jazz, who had created that kind of great pleasure?
> God may bless him as if he is a dove
> I wish to run the street of Pyung Yang City,
> spreading jazz music as Benny Goodman did in Russia.
> It is a brilliant idea, and it seems pretty constructive.
> God may give his grace to plant the spirit of freedom
> and the impulse of pure emotion.

In the 1960's Korea marked a decade of great social change. Rapid economic growth took the Korean people out of poverty and gave them confidence in their relationships with Americans. They no longer considered themselves poor. The present government has emphasized national identity. In such a situation, the benevolent American image may undergo substantial revision. Sometimes even,

it becomes an object of ridicule. In Cho Hae Il's The America,[29] the town where the story began was destroyed by flood. Some of the townpeople escaped from the disaster. Others were rescued by the American troops. One of the conversations on the image of "benevolent Americans" goes like this:

> Those who were taken to the American camp will be all right?
> Sure! Sure! Americans are fond of helping others.
> Pardon?
> It is their favorite slogan: help man in trouble,
> help unfortunate man!
> They have lots of enjoyment in helping other people.
> Therefore if they don't have anyone to help, they
> make such a situation. Then they feel satisfaction.

Let's look at another aspect of change. Americans have been treated as rich men in the first and second periods but in the third period, there poor Americans appeared in Korean literature. Song Jang Soon in her Mrs. Maya, which was published in 1965, introduces a low class American woman who behaves haughtily before the Koreans.[30] Mrs. Maya, who is the main character, is of lower class stock, but she is highly regarded in Korea where she visits Korea for missionary work. Since Mrs. Maya cannot forget this experience, she desires to live and enjoy high esteem again and thus she returns to Korea after she divorces her husband. However, she finds the situation in Korea has become quite different: the unconditional welcome and hospitality she enjoyed disappears; instead, there develops a critical attitude toward her. When she arrives in Korea, she speaks with the man who is in charge of the Y.M.C.A. quarters:

> Is the room single room or double room?
> Sorry, the single room is full. Many people are
> always ready for the single room.
> Damn it, why should I have to use the double room
> sharing with other people.

Sharing a room with Mrs. Maya, her Korean roommate has an unfavorable and critical attitude toward Mrs. Maya:

> That's right. Sometimes she (Mrs. Maya) makes me an interpreter
> for her phone call. In case I make some mistakes interpreting her call,
> she loses her temper. She should not treat the Korean people like
> that. It's very unpleasant. . . .
> Anyway, we could not accept the damn consciousness of being in the

privileged class, especially in case of Mrs. Maya. In fact, among the Americans, she is the lowest.

The 1960's was a period when a large number of students returned home after finishing their studies and when short-term training programs provided many opportunities for Koreans to visit the United States. The latter part of this period saw remarkable economic growth in Korea and Koreans had many opportunities to visit America. There was also an increasing number of American tourist visits to Korea. Once again it becomes inevitable for a Korean to read just their image of America. The more they are exposed to the real life of America, the more sophisticated and complicated are the portrayals of Americans in Korean short stories. As I said, it has long been known in the mind of the Korean people that America is a land of promise and a land of wealth. All Americans are perceived to be rich and benevolent, and this theme dominates the stories of the previous periods. In the third period, these pictures of American society itself must be changed. The story sets are in America and showed the other side of wealthy America. Lee Soung Hoon writes of this false picture of America in his novel, The Bee Sang Koo [The exit], as follows:[31]

> Every moment, we think America is a kind of paradise . . . it is the most advanced nation with no beggar: they are all rich; everybody in America is a gentleman, everything is wonderful in America; Oh, no, never happen . . . It is discovered that the whole story that I had heard about America is false. It is said that in America there is no waste paper left on the streets; and that in case someone forgets to receive his change after buying something in a shop, the shop clerk must walk several miles of distance to return it; and that something left on a bench in the park will remain until the following day . . . I do wish to tell you that America is not such a heavenly place.

In Park Si Jung's Tahyang Sari [The people away from home], there is a similar expression:[32]

> Oh! America, open a can and you find fresh meat and pineapple.
> The glamour-dancing-girls in the luxurious party - the dream
> that those girls had dreamt of has turned out a horrible nightmare.

In depicting the image of individual Americans as cold, apathetic and hard-hearted men, Park Si Jung in his Nal Kae So Ri [The sound of the winds], says:[33]

> Supposing that being in rags and hungry, I have collapsed at your door; would you take me into the warm room and give me a cup of hot tea? No, may be, you would slam the door leaving me behind . . . Although the American society is cruel and harsh, it would, if necessary help its own people, not us . . .

So it is not the kind of nation and people the Koreans had perceived before. The writer of Exit discovers the whole story he has heard about America is false. Another significant notion is expressed in Park Si Jung's Pal Liji Annuen Bosuk [The unsold jewel],[34] in which the writer touches upon Korea's racial attitude toward half-breeds in relation to the image of America. The protagonist of the novel, Professor Park, is an international relations teacher at an American university as a visiting professor. At first he is very embarrassed with the American student's liberal way of life. Professor Park finds quite different scenes of the American university like this:

> Sprawling my shoulders and softening my rigid facial expression I stood on the platform of the classroom. The blue eyes and various colors of hair which are different from mine came into my view: a boy student with deep eyes and black hair was hanging his leg on an empty chair just before me, another boy student looks like a girl because he wears his long hair tied behind; one female student seems to show her two nipples through her thin transparent shirts; oh! No! The funny dress which allows the girl to show her belly like baby's clothes . . . But as I began to understand them, I was getting encouraged. But soon I was stimulated by the candid attitude with which they asked questions and gave answers without hesitation, thinking for themselves.

Understanding America in this way, this Korean professor thinks while he is talking with the American youth that their attitudes seem more mature than his, and his feeling toward these students was narrow-minded consciousness of ritual authority. He begins to realize the real values of the things in America. In such a plot, the writer tries to evaluate and explain the American way of life as well as its favorable aspects. One of the most significant changes as seen in the three decades of Korean literature comes from the writer's discussion of Korean racial attitudes.

One day Professor Park was invited out by an American colleague named H. Dr. H. is a professor of anthropology in Asian Studies, who married a Korean woman. Although Professor Park looked at Mrs. H. through a Korean's eye-view on intermarriage, he found in her manner something more than that of an ordinary

Korean woman. He had a good impression of her and became quite friendly. He had a chance to see Korean life on the American scene. Mrs. H. was asked by an American family to teach their adopted son, who is a Korean orphan. This American family thought that it would be good for him to keep his mother tongue since he is quite grown up. Professor Park came along with Mrs. H. and was deeply impressed by the American family who adopted the Korean half-breed war orphan whom Koreans had discriminated against so much. Later he became deeply impressed again by the fact that Mrs. H. was also a half-breed of Japanese and Korean blood. Because she was half-Japanese in Korean society where clanship and racial attitudes were strong, she was brought up in the traditional Korean style. This is why she preserved traditional manners of Korean women. When he was listening to her life story, he saw the deep sorrow of Korean racial discrimination. Professor Parks was strongly moved. Professor Park felt that it is not Americans but Koreans who are "tribal and barbarous," who are intolerant toward other races, and who are inhuman, against brotherhood of love.

Being deeply moved by his experience of American life, on his return he adopted a black half-breed orphan named Han Ho. However, his mother did not approve of him, his wife was embarrassed, and his children were ridiculed. Finally he, himself, became the subject of gossip and eventually had to resign from his post of college dean. He found himself unable to keep Han Ho any more. He decided to send him to Mrs. H. to be adopted in America and wrote her a long letter ending with the symbolic words: "anyone born in Korea must be a Korean Jewel. (The birth of life is a birth of a jewel.) However, this Korean jewel named Han Ho is not accepted as a jewel yet in Korea." A nineteenth century progressivist, Kim Yong Sik, who visited America once confessed something similar to the views of Professor Park: In the twentieth century "I was born in the dark. I was out in the light. Now I return into darkness again. I cannot yet see my way clearly but I hope I will soon." Thus this seems to be the repercussion of a voice of the "Enlightened civilization."

SUMMARY

This paper examined the changing image of America through quantitative and qualitative analysis. In the period after liberation, the Korean writers expressed American images in relation to the sub-culture of the occupational forces. Therefore writers might have perceived the U.S. as another culture of ruling forces replacing that of the Japanese. In the middle period, because of Korean experiences with American soldiers during the war, writers portrayed the sexual exploitations of Korean women as a main current in the literature. Another favorite theme during the second period was "America's ignorance of traditional ethics." This is reflected in the literature during the period and forms a negative image of America. It was the middle of the third period when the image of America changed remarkably, from simple to complex, from military to non-military, from a blurred image to a more realistic one, from negative to positive, appraising the real life of America and its society.

NOTES

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3. Moon Il Pyung, op. cit., p. 48.
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    2) Filial respect must be strong
    3) Devotedness of wife must be strong

    The Five Ethical Rules:
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    2) Filial respect for one's parents
    3) Harmony of husband and wife
    4) Respect for elders
    5) True friendship
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IMAGES OF AMERICA IN MALAY POETRY AND SHORT STORIES

Krishen Jit

THE LITERARY SETTING

The development of modern Malay literature--primarily a twentieth-century phenomenon—is linked inseparably with the rise of Malay national identity. Malay writers were among the earliest of their community to assume an independent posture towards the British colonists, and throughout the nationalist struggle, the promotion of Malay as a national language was among the foremost of their aims. Independence, however, only brought a pyrrhic victory, for the colonial language continued to maintain its political and particularly economic ascendancy in the country after 1957. The "linguistic nationalists," as one scholar has termed them, had to fight hard and unceasingly for their precious goal, with real success only reached after 1969. Language as the expression of cultural identity is therefore more than a truism for Malay writers; it has been a daily fact of their literary life. Their response to any threat to the supremacy of Malay has been swift and sharp. And, until recently, their exposure to the English-language world of America has been limited, confined, for the most part, to imported Hollywood movies, television programs, material America as symbolized by Coca-Cola, and to such restricted acquaintanceship with American works as are made available by Malay and Indonesian translators. Such a stance towards English as they have historically adopted, and such conditions as they have experienced, can perhaps be included among a constellation of factors that color the Malay writers' reactions to America and Americans.

Malay national identity is also shaped by religion, and Islam has erected a strong ethical foundation. Writers, traditionally accepted as moral teachers by their community, and who have fulfilled their role steadfastly up till today, not unnaturally, therefore, are instilled with a powerful moral fervor. Literature for them is not only a creative act, but also impossible to divorce from the idea of service to society. This literary environment was the base from which a protest and muckraking tradition was nurtured after the Second World War, of which Usman Awang is the best and most popular representative. Much of his Vietnam poetry, for instance, reveals the influence of this temperament and mood.

Only in the last few years have important literary personalities such as Muhammed Haji Salleh, Latiff Mohidin, and Baha Zain emerged, who, by example of their "introspective" writings, pose a challenge to the traditional and didactic stance. Their appearance has provoked a lively polemic on the worth and dangers of an "elite" as opposed to a rakyat (or "peoples' ") literature--a debate, one might add, which is by now a classic in Third World countries. By and large, however, in spite of their impressive literary output, the new party is still a minority one by virtue of its small numbers and influence. Their writings, too, especially those of Muhammed Haji Salleh and Baha Zain, even while inspired by a quest for self-discovery, are also compelled by a moral passion not dissimilar to that of their more traditional colleagues. The spiritual concerns of the Malay writers and their notion that literature is inseparable from social service has also affected their response to America and Americans.

Apart from shared beliefs on religion and the function of literature, other factors encourage us to discern a coincidence between the inclinations of the writers and their readers. Their relationship is so close and dynamic in fact that such divisions as are made in the west between an "elite" and "popular literature" would be misguiding ones when applied to Malaysia. The Malaysian situation in poetry and short stories, in particular, makes a mockery of this kind of rigid compartmentalizing. From its beginnings in the early decades of this century, these forms of literature have found important outlets in newspapers and magazines. Journalism and literature took on a still more intimate association in the 1950's when an influential literary movement called the Angkatan 50 (or "The Fifties Generation") was inaugurated. Since then (and actually continuing from a pre-Second World War tradition), Malay newspapers and magazines have always given space to literary efforts. This practice has produced what in western terminology might be labelled as "the short poem" and "the short-short story."

If they do not appear in the daily editions, poems and short stories will invariably occupy a few pages in the Sunday editions of Malay newspapers. General interest magazines patterned on The Reader's Digest, for instance, will always include at least one short story and half a dozen poems and are often accompanied by literary criticism or commentary. Even special interest magazines catering to women, movie, television, and pop music fans, and those interested in religious matters, contain poems and short stories as a natural and anticipated aspect of their appeal. From this it should be obvious that there is a large body of writers in the country, so many in fact that one local wit has remarked that there are more writers than readers. Almost all of them are "amateurs," so defined not because they are not serious about writing, but because the infrastructure of the country cannot yet support writing as the sole means of a reasonable livelihood. The bulk of the writers are to be found among schoolteachers and journalists, although a variety of people such as clerks, radio and television personnel and civil servants, and, most recently, a rather more earnest breed of university students and professors, also

write. * The relative ease with which poems and short stories are published, helped along as they are by the newspapers and magazines and a large and varied appeal, sustains the numerical strength of the writers, in spite of the small monetary returns that they accrue from them. †

It also means that selection and editing is infrequently exercised. Consequently, good, bad, and indifferent writers appear on the same forum and often side by side. There are some magazines that are entirely devoted to literature and literary matters and they too enjoy a large following. For example, Dewan Sastra, the well-regarded monthly literary journal, has an official subscription list of 10,000. But community reading habits among the Malays, where lending and borrowing of books and magazines is common, increase the number of readers many-fold. ‡ A sharp increase in the literacy rate among the Malays in the last decade has had a dramatic effect on the development of literary outlets in the country. 1976 witnessed the inauguration of new newspapers, the latest of which, "Mingguan Timur," devotes four pages out of twenty, to poetry, short stories, literary criticism, commentary, and news, and a special editorial on literary matters every Sunday. The proliferation of new magazines in the last few months has placed fresh demands on writers to produce more for a rapidly growing reading public. If this trend continues, it is very likely that writing might soon become a paying occupation.

The rural roots of the majority of Malay writers is yet another factor that cements the bonds with their readers. While the bulk of the important writers live in Kuala Lumpur, only a few of them were born in the capital city. Urban-dwelling writers continue to respond to their rural audiences not only by their creative efforts, but also by meeting with them frequently--by lecturing at schools and at writers' workshops and seminars. The connection between the two parties is also enlivened by annual and semi-annual poetry readings arranged in rotation around the country by

* Muhammed Haji Salleh and Shahnon Ahmad are the best known academics who continue to be productive as writers.

† The "Hadiah Sastra" (or "Literary Award"), instituted in 1971, has recently increased its cash award for meritorious work. A top writer can receive as much as $3000 (US) for consistently good writing over a number of years. The "Sayembara Nobel" (or "Novel Competition") will award $4000 (US) for the best original and unpublished work this year. However, these prizes, while handsome by any standards, involve only one or two writers a year.

‡ Dewan Sastra is plagued by poor distribution; if not it would reach many more readers. The Board of Trustees of the Dewan Bahasa dan Lustaka (or "The Language and Literary Agency"), which publishes the magazine, is about to make fresh efforts to solve its distribution problems.

writers' associations. These "deklamasi sajak" can sometimes draw as many as five thousand people for one night.

Therefore, when only some three dozen poems and six short stories dealing with America and Americans directly or indirectly were discovered for the period here under consideration, it seems obvious that the Malay writers' interest in America is a very slight one. Indeed, themes and characters relating to foreign countries and peoples apart from America and Americans is also of relatively minor concern. By far the greatest preoccupation is with local affairs and problems. Since the end of the Vietnam War, the literature on America is more sparse than ever. Nevertheless, while America's role in international affairs does not much trouble the Malay writers any longer, the appearance of Shahnon Ahmad's "Angan-Angan Mr. Proudfoot" [Aspirations of Mr. Proudfoot] hints that even after Vietnam, the American as the moral and spiritual cripple is still a very lively figure.

INTRODUCTION

If not for an ambiguous stance towards the young and "lost" generation, and empathy, by virtue of color and culture, with the blacks and the American Indians respectively, the images of America and Americans as reflected in Malay poetry and the short story from 1957 to the present would be consistently and overwhelmingly negative. Being westerners, the white Americans are derided for their godless and immoral ways, and their presence (and consequently their influence, too) is thought to be antithetical to the spiritual personality and civilization of the Malays. In the short stories, in particular, are such unseemly and detailed portraits drawn, often accompanied by the revelation that Americans are actually an ineffectual people, either because of their own limitations or unmasked as weak when confronted by a strength of will or spirit. While the number of stories that deal with Americans directly or indirectly is by no means large, the picture that emerges from them is remarkable for its uniformity. [2]

Equally small in output are the poems that take America and Americans as their themes, and just as distinct and frequent as in the short stories are the unfavorable images projected by them. [3] More than anything else, the verses castigate the Americans as the gigantic and rich imperialist power despoiling a small Asian country and people. Indeed, it is an unfortunate coincidence for the Americans that the Vietnam War first awakened a consciousness of America among most of the Malay writers who have written about it. Beginning in the 1960's, and gathering momentum throughout the decade until a climactic explosion during the early 1970's, one or another major Malay poet (and a few minor ones) has chosen to write about the dastardly acts perpetrated by the Americans on the Indo-Chinese peninsula. This anti-American posture is assumed years before the Malaysian government was to declare a neutralist policy towards the Vietnam War. At about the same time, other American sins were exposed by the Malay writers, such as the suppression of the blacks and the American Indians, thus casting a wider net to capture the evil doings of the

white people from the most powerful country in the world.

A closer look at America, afforded to those who have gone or are still sojourning there, has not much dented the larger outlook. In some respects, it has been reinforced. The most profound image of a godless America, for example, is elicited by one of these writers. Beneath the broader vision of evil in America, held by the home writers, the visitors to America have exposed a society in pain and turmoil, especially as it is mirrored by the young and collegiate American or the Vietnam veteran, about both of whom the Malay writers-cum-students are gentle, if not empathetic. But even these writers are alienated by America and with but one exception, largely for reasons similar to those which have motivated the home writers' estrangement.[4]

Some among these images, as has been hinted earlier, are not unique to America but form part of a cluster of responses to the west. Because of their deep cultural differences, western and eastern civilizations cannot abide together. In the period immediately after independence, the rejection of the westerners was motivated by suspicion of their intentions, especially of the British expatriates. Later in the 1960's, when the Malay writers were consciously attempting to build a national identity and personality, they repudiated the west (including the Americans) for their baneful influence. Character sketches of the westerners in general are by and large quite as unpleasant as those that use Americans as their models. Nevertheless, other westerners seem to be immune to the special wrath that falls upon their American counterparts.

FIRST CONSCIOUSNESS OF AMERICA

It is a rare Malaysian who has not formed some image of America and the Americans from the movies, and more recently, television. Curiously enough, the writers under consideration hardly reflect such pictures as they might have gathered from Hollywood, either to reject, qualify, or support them. A rare exception is Shahnon Ahmad, who in his short story, "Jahanam" [Hell] captures what are perhaps typical notions of Hollywood in the lively minds of kampung (or village) children.[5] Hell (or so their mothers must have told their children) is where the film stars such as Rock Hudson, Tony Curtis, Richard Widmark, Gina Lollobrigida, Jayne Mansfield, and Brigitte Bardot will go, and that is where some of the audacious boys of Shahnon Admad's kampung want to go. These are, however, happy and curious childhood imaginings that take on different hues when placed against adult experiences of America.

> I came to know of America when a kid through their cowboys who appeared to me very brave and daring with their pistols shooting against the Red Indians. The Indians looked very fierce, though stupid, laughing at each other and in the habit of looking at themselves through the mirror; while

the cowboys appeared handsome, brave, helpful and very good at shooting. Then I learned about America during the Korean War and when America caught the headlines during the troubles in Vietnam. [6] (Emphasis added.)

Usman Awang and Kassim Ahmad were the first of the Malay writers to exhibit an awareness of the presence of America in the world around them. "Merpati Putih Jelajahi Dunia Ini" [White dove, visit this land], "Konggo" [Congo] and "Bunga Popi" [The poppy flower], all poems of the 1950's, [7] distinguish Usman Awang's universalistic concern for humanity, peace, and justice, while his fellow poets were preoccupied with local problems of a similar nature. "He [that is Usman Awang, as the poet and literary critic, Muhammed Haji Salleh informs us] is an idealist . . . From his environment, he can look out to a troubled world, at war with itself. He cannot understand that wars cannot be stopped, but is perhaps correct in feeling a concerned superiority about the problems that he hears through the press. For him and his society, peace is still possible, and even the creation of a society in which members are good to each other. There is always for him an almost ideal society to which he can refer." [8] When Usman Awang considers war, it is often personified, and therefore the burden of responsibility is shouldered by the war-mongers. At first in the fifties, those responsible are Eisenhower and Khrushchev. But with the onset of the Vietnam War, and the American involvement in it, Usman Awang's anger begins to be directed at the Americans alone. As the war continues in scope and intensity, do does the poet's ire. For example, the death of President Kennedy, who was mourned by much of the world, including Asia, is the occasion for Usman Awang to remind the grief stricken of the numberless deaths gone unmourned in war. By mentioning Niagara, [9] Usman Awang subtly makes America responsible for the unnoticed victims:

What are the tear-drops wept for one who goes
before the coffin leaves and a little after
Compared to the terrifying flow of the Niagara
the tears of beloved sons and maidens waiting
at windows
and bitterly-frowning mothers who once used
to breast-feed
on hearing news of death on the battlefield. [10]

Kennedy, in particular, and America in general, were also the targets of Kassim Ahmad's monumental anger at the time of Lumumba's death. In the poem called "Lumumba Mati" [Lumumba dies], [11] Kassim Ahmad proclaims that Africa's dark day has exposed America's ugly secrets. "Today I know your secrets/Today the whole world knows your secrets/And will destroy your total military and financial empire." The theme of the American betrayal of its renowned ideals of democracy and justice (a complaint to be registered frequently by Malay writers in subsequent years) is given expression for the first time in this poem. "Oh Kennedy, president of the almighty America/Are you not the inheritor of the defenders of democracy and

justice." The university-educated poet also displays a more sophisticated understanding of foreign affairs than Usman Awang. "Who killed him/Ah, surely the Communists/According to the news they have infiltrated in every corner of the continent." Glaring too is Kassim Ahmad's Afro-Asian stance, also evident in Usman Awang, but made less partisan in the latter poet's uncommon desire to embrace all of humanity. There are, it is clear, some broad similarities between the attitudes of Usman Awang and Kassim Ahmad towards America, such as disappointment and regret at American silence over the human tragedy in Africa and Asia, but Kassim Ahmad's extravagantly destructive will are, for his time, distinct and unique. The following lines from "Lumumba Dies" illustrate:

If my voice is sad and rough
Do not be surprised
If I were God
Today I will destroy the whole world.

The stage for acting out the battle with America over Vietnam was prepared by these two poets. If an Afro-Asian bearing is discernible it was not unintentional, particularly in the case of Kassim Ahmad who was soon to become a professional socialist politician. Since the early sixties, Kassim Ahmad has not written many poems and none, among the few published, takes up the cudgel against America that he so heavily wielded in 1961. Usman Awang, on the other hand, continued to write more poetry voicing his discontent with America and, in later years, also his sadness over the plight of the black man in the United States. By the mid-sixties, however, he was joined by other voices, not only among writers, but also by the din of a demonstrative section of the public in the country.

THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE IMAGE OF AMERICA

Even before America became involved in Vietnam, the new and independent Malaysian government, mindful of its own political and military conflict with the communists, extended official support to South Vietnam.[12] When America entered the war, Malaysia as an ally of the SEATO member, Great Britain, and under that country's protective military umbrella, welcomed the participation of the great western power in the Asian conflagration. Confrontation with Indonesia between 1963-1965 lent urgency to Malaysia's pro-western policies at that time. By naming one of the newly-opened land development projects for President Johnson when he visited the country in 1966, Malaysia gave added confirmation of its approval of American intentions in the South East Asian region. The Malaysian government did not encourage America by words and symbols alone, for from 1961-1966, it trained over 3,000 South Vietnamese officers in anti-guerrilla operations, and in 1967, sent its experts to Saigon to help guide South Vietnam's rural and economic development programs. At the same time, the Malaysian Foreign Office made it clear that it would be willing to send combat troops to Vietnam, if requested to do

so by the United States. The offer was not taken up, but Malaysia continued its support of the United States by joining Thailand, another SEATO member, in calling for an all-Asian peace conference in mid-1966, and when Malaysia was chosen as a suitable rest and recreation area for battle-fatigued American soldiers, the local government welcomed the presence of the pleasure-seeking young men.

The response of the Malaysian public towards the American entry into Vietnam, at least among those who articulated their views, tells a different story. There might have been initial tolerance, if not support, of the American aims, particularly during the Kennedy presidency, but this cordiality soon eroded once the war got into high gear. By the mid-sixties, Malaysian political activists, like their counterparts in many other parts of the Third World, exhibited their discomfort over American policies in Asia by conducting demonstrations at the American Embassy and the U.S.I.S. Library. These acts of disapproval reached a height in 1966.[13] By this time too, university scholars, albeit in a more polite and deliberative fashion, added fuel to the fire by questioning the credibility of the much-touted "domino theory" of the Americans.[14]

Therefore, when Nahmar Jamil wrote the poem "Vietnam Bergolak"[15] [Vietnam struggles] in 1963 his reactions to America were no longer as radical as they might have appeared when Usman Awang and Kassim Ahmad voiced their disagreement. Nevertheless, the young poet carefully avoids taking sides between the communists and the anti-communists and instead shows his concern for the nationalist struggle of the Vietnamese people for their independence. "Vietnam continues to struggle/Let people call them communists or imperialists/But my heart is closer to the sons and daughters of the land/who are strong in defending independence and their country." What was soon to become an indelible image of America as a nation raining bombs on a small Asian people and their land, is pre-figured by Nahmar Jamil:

> The planes of America vomit death bombs
> In cities and villages
> the struggle of the guerillas continues
> a battle that has no comparison in history.

As in the poetry of Usman Awang earlier, another poet who entered the anti-Vietnam foray at this time, Nik Mohd. Zain, also directs an accusing finger at the unfeeling culprit who has caused destruction in the Asian world.[16] Johnson might have been feted and honored by his government, but for this Malay, the American president is the man reluctant to bear his responsibility for the Vietnam nightmare:

> Johnson the greatest man
> In his land he turns
> to the White House garden

-ashes and blood
flow red towards River Mekong
The Vietnam people strong in ideology
await the burning of the land.

Not only the American leader, but also the American soldier at rest, now becoming a common, and for the writers, a vulgar and shameful sight, was taken to task for his despoiling of the Asian people. The soldier on R and R, his wallet bulging with dollars ready to be spent, may have pleased the businessmen of the city, but for Baha Zain, in his poem "Rayuan Wanita Asia" [Plea of the Asian Woman],[18] he symbolizes the American destruction of purity in Asia:

What else can I give
All frangipanis wilt in the fire of the blasts
All wombs you have filled
With your dollars
With your V. D.

What else
What else
You have left us
An heir to your germs and destruction
Leave me alone

The prostitute at the Hotel Embassy
She cries
"Oh Jo, gip me your dollar
Not your nepalm, not your gonorria."

Perhaps the best poem on Vietnam by a Malay writer came during this period, but strangely enough, "Sungei Mekong"[18] [Mekong River] by Latiff Mohidin written in February 1966, did not become well-known until the 1970's. Since its "discovery," the poem has often been discussed by Malay and foreign literary critics, not least of all because it has bred many imitators of its refreshing style if not its theme. The stance of the poet, also a leading painter of the country, is quite different from the didactic one held by Usman Awang, and it is best described by Muhammed Haji Salleh (who, by the way, is as much talking about himself as he is about Latiff Mohidin). ". . . Latiff Mohidin and Subagio [a contemporary Indonesian poet] do not offer solutions or suggest answers to problems. Instead they present the dilemmas in which they find themselves. There is no attempt at solutions because they do not pretend that they can even find keys to their own conditions."[19] Even "without showy and loud rhetorics" Latiff Mohidin, by simply mentioning "Niagara" at the end of the poem, made it quite obvious that America has a major role to play in the tragic drama of the Mekong. A similar effect is produced by referring to the "storm from the north."

Mekong river
end the day-dance of your ripples
I see down in your bed
buds bleeding
tonight
a storm shall come from the north
your banks shall break
your waters shall run red
and your current shall rage more violent
than Niagara.

Usman Awang and Kassim Ahmad, once lonely voices railing against America, must have been delighted by the arrival of company to their platform. In his poetry, Kassim Ahmad's, as indicated earlier, was a muffled joy at the new turn of events, but Usman Awang, a remarkably active writer and promoter of causes, never loosened his grip on the neck of America. Indeed, apart from Malay poets, he found other allies, more precisely, American folk singers such as Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, and Malvina Reynolds, who in their own country were making their lyrical protests against Vietnam around the campuses of the land. In 1968, Usman Awang led the writers of the best-known Malay literary group in Kuala Lumpur, PENA, to an evening of translated poetry based on the lyrics of "What have they done to the land?" "Where have all the flowers gone?" and "We shall overcome."[20]

It might be said that as the decade came to a close, Usman Awang became more obsessive about Vietnam in his poetry. No thought of America could be separated in his mind from the devastating war that was raging in the peninsula near his home. For example, when in 1969, he was invited among other "world poets" to comment in verse on William Faulkner's painting called "Henry," Usman Awang immediately trained his mind on the suffering of the Vietnamese people:

In Henry's face I see serenity in suffering
smile gently budding offer of love and peace
but in his heart, listen, thunderous as
Niagara
screams of death in the slaughter of Vietnam's
soil.[21]

Later in May 1970, on his way to the United States, and regretting the barriers erected between man and man by visas and passports, Usman Awang found occasion once more to show concern for the Vietnamese people:

brother you have chosen guns and bullets
many leaders prefer their dollars
for this you must soak your clothes
red grass, red rivers
the blood of the Vietnamese people.[22]

A trip to America, sponsored by the United States Department of State, brought Usman Awang closer to the Vietnam war protesters, and also led him to add the American Indian and the blacks to his growing list of causes. Usman Awang was not the first to discover kinship with the blacks and the "forgotten" Indians of America.[23] Six years earlier, in his published travel notes on America, the essayist, M. Noor Azam, described a sense of comfort and brotherliness while visiting American Indian settlements in New Mexico. Unlike the rest of the Americans, they (that is, the Indians) ". . . clearly reflect a strong and sincere love of peace and humanity. And this feeling has not yet been overcome by the spirit of materialism and the individualistic way of living that bounds every part of their life."[24]

The effect of the American Indians on Usman Awang was similar.

> Every evening, the Indians living around Grand Canyon stage their native dances, for shows to the tourists and they on the other hand were so busy taking pictures lest that the events would perish in antiquity. I suddenly thought of the Malay dancers in my country who perform dances for the tourists. I was asking myself whether the forgotten people were the ones who like to show their culture to the tourists.[25]

The plight of the American Indian, however, did not provoke any poetry from Usman Awang, but that of the black man did. Snow, white, fluffy and clear, has never failed to fascinate the Malaysians. The Malay writers are no exception, for practically every one of them who has seen snow has written a poem or two on the experience. Usman Awang in his "snow poem," "Salji Hitam" [Black snow], turns the encounter on its head and produces a surprising association of incongruities:

> here the snow has a different colour
> black
> Black
> BLACK
> black snow
> BLACK
> the blackest of black
> echoes reverberations
> WE SHALL OVERCOME.[26]

In America too, Usman Awang met the younger generation, those whose protest songs had so impressed him. From his contact with the students and others ("American student from Madison University whispered to me, 'I am ashamed of myself and hate to think of my government's policy' "), Usman Awang made the general conclusion that to his "surprise, the political stand appeared to support the struggle of the new generation. . . . The generation that in turn favor the struggles of the countries in the Latin American region."[27] No poems issued from his

acquaintanceship with college students, but Usman Awang now knew more assuredly who were his friends and who were his enemies in America.

By the end of 1970, the Malay writers did not feel so estranged from their government over their friendship with America. "The termination of confrontation, the emergence of a friendly government in Jakarta and a major adjustment in Britain's military role in South East Asia . . . encouraged an increasingly independent outlook in foreign policy by Malaysia."[28] Since then, the Malaysian Foreign Office has assumed a moderately non-aligned posture overseas, while pursuing a vigorous anti-communist policy at home. The Malay writers could feel vindicated, but it is unlikely that their voice was a crucial or even an important one heard by the Malaysian political leaders when they made their decision. At the least, in the changed foreign policy atmosphere of the 1970's, the poets, if they did at all during the 1960's, no longer needed to feel suspect for their views on Vietnam. Perhaps the clearest sign that anti-American writing was no longer disreputable came when the establishment figure and sometime poet, Kamarul Arifin, now a senator in the Upper House of the Malaysian Parliament, began to publish such poetry in the prestigious and well-subscribed literary magazine, Dewan Sastra. "Bila Melihat Kembalinya POWS" [On witnessing the return of the POWS][29] describes the poet's reactions while he witnessed the event in March 1973 in Washington, D. C., and in a similar questioning vein as Usman Awang's when he wrote about Kennedy's death a decade earlier:

Are they warriors
Defending for whom?
How high their duty is praised
Destroy kill unsinning people

. . . .

The return of the prisoners of war brings meaning
For those who long and cry
Love is close to human feelings
For this only we give thanks.

The end of the war in Vietnam was in sight by 1973, but before the close, a furious bombing of the region was necessitated by the Nixon-Kissinger logic of international affairs. So long as the Americans continued their devastation, Usman Awang hounded them for their imperialistic bearing. A particularly emotional march against Nixon occurred in 1973, inspiring Usman Awang to write an exhortatory poem saluting the demonstration students' fervor and bravery.[30]

AMERICAN PORTRAITS IN MALAY SHORT STORIES

By virtue of the demands imposed by its form, and those compelled by the preoccupations of the writers, the Malay poetry about America, even while consistent in the picture of the country and the people it makes, can, however, only give a generalized perspective. For a more intimate look at the American personality,

as conceived by the writers, we have to turn to the short story for illumination. Only six are available for scrutiny, one of which, "Arah ke Selatan" [Going south], is not typical and will be discussed separately along with the peculiar predilections of its author. Of the remaining five, three are the products of the critic and short-story writer Mohd. Affandi Hassan, one has been written by Arena Wati, and the latest, "Angan-Angan Mr. Proudfoot" [Aspirations of Mr. Proudfoot] by Shahnon Ahmad.

If the Malay poets who have written on America are concerned with the gigantic problems of war and peace, the short-story writers, by and large, are impelled by the other major drama in life, namely sexual relations. So it would appear from the stories of Mohd. Affandi Hassan, who places all three of his Americans within an ambience of sex by which to unmask their spiritual bankruptcy. The first of the stories "Orang Dari Seberang" [Man from overseas][31] examines the behavior of a Peace Corps volunteer, who teaches science in a kampung school. By most accounts, the image of the young Peace Corps volunteer during the Kennedy and Johnson era is a good one in Malaysia. His linguistic skill in Malay, acquired after only a short period of intensive study has often been held up as an example to those non-Malays reluctant to learn the national language. University administrations, inspired by the Peace Corps model of service, have sent their vacationing students out to the rural areas to help the villagers in their field tasks.

Mohd. Affandi Hassan's Peace Corps man, John, is quite a different breed from the ones lauded in the newspapers, particularly the English language ones. John has all the outward trappings of a warm, friendly, and generous American who has come to Malaysia to bring scientific knowledge to the kampung youth. According to Ani, the pretty teenager infatuated by her science teacher, John is also handsome, tall, with clear blue eyes, and is a modern, progressive man, more hard working and caring of the students than the local teachers. As she gets friendlier with John, she gets alienated from her own people and dreams of the wonderful America the young man represents, ". . . about the brave soldiers of America. Of the beautiful cities of America. Of America with many scientists. Ani feels that America strongly. What a wonderful thing it is to be an American. To become a friend of the American is also great. No wonder America has so many friends."[32]

From these positive beginnings, the author builds a picture of evil lurking under the mask. Behind the polite exterior, for example, is the crassness that motivates the American to give Ani's mother ten dollars after taking a meal in her house. Ani is soon to find out what he is really like, when one morning on the beach, he seduces the innocent girl. She is destroyed, but John is pitiless. He "looks with hate at the sentimental Malay. Truly Malay girls are not sporting."[33] In the end, however, it is the immoral American who needs help from the girl he has just dishonored. By accident, soft, white beach sand gets into his eyes, temporarily blinds him; he stumbles against a rock and falls, hurt and in pain. He cries to Ani for help. She is at first non-plussed but "gathers her strength. She must make a decision. She presses her lips. She embraces the young man. He is crying harder. Ani, help me. Please help me, Ani. And leads John towards the beach."[34]

The promiscuous American, without real feelings of love and care for another human being, is also the subject of Mohd. Affandi Hassan's "Tamu" [Visitor].[35] Irene Low, the Chinese prostitute, finds Mike, the R and R soldier, "strange. But he has a lot of money. Even if his body gives out an unpleasant smell, [she] is not bored by him. He really has a lot of money. And he is not stingy about it either."[36] But Irene's encounter with Mike is going to be stranger still. She learns of his secret nightmare--the pain of being an American soldier, forced to murder people who have done him no wrong. His two-year-old son will also become a dog, obeying the orders of those who want to save their honor and pride. Irene, like Ani in the previous story, is filled with her own fantasies of America as she listens to his horrifying tale:

"Maybe he [that is, Mike] does not love his rich and strong country. I am surprised why he does not feel proud to destroy a land thousands of miles away while his own country is undisturbed. What a wonderful thing it is to live in a strong country like America."[37] The weeping American[38] elicits her sympathy, and Irene grows to love him, but the coarse soldier does not care. Once more the American we met in "Man from Overseas" rears his ugly head. The Vietnam metaphor is not difficult to detect in the pointed ruminations of Irene:

"Truly this American does not think of other people's feelings. He only wants others to obey his wants, when people don't want to obey, he forces them. This is Mike, Mike who was crying like a child before, but now cruelly forcing me."[39] Irene surrenders to Mike, body and soul, and he, after his conquest, goes to find another woman. He comes to Irene's room to crow about his victory over her, bringing his newest "victim" along to add salt to Irene's wound. But once again, the final triumph belongs to the Asian. Irene had torn the picture of Mike's family, and when the soldier comes back for the photo, she shows him the shreds." "[Mike] . . . looks down at the pieces of soft paper which had flown in the air the morning before. Then he looks at her. In the end, he cries heavily. [Irene] takes a long breath. [Her] heart is satisfied."[40]

One more sketch, a sort of hurried pencil-drawing, of a woman this time, completes Mohd. Affandi Hassan's collection of portraiture on the morally corrupt American. Once more as in the other stories, sex is the essence where the American is concerned in "Le Masque."[41] Two westernized and artistic Malays meet, one a painter bent on unmasking the hypocrisy of the other more sanctimonious one. Dolly is the promiscuous American in this tale--the victim rather than victimizer--shuttling her body between the two misguided men, and in the end, left dreadfully shabby and defeated by her experience.

The feeble and naive American is among a variety of images drawn of foreigners by Arena Wati in his political allegory "Wisata" [Picnicking].[42] In this story, there are stereotypes of five foreigners, with special attention given to the Japanese. All of them have been invited to his home by a progressive village penghulu (headman) in quest of a free trip overseas. The Britisher arrives first

and he is the familiar haughty aristocrat. He has a bad fall, and while hurt and in pain, we recall the twilight of the British Empire. The German is stern and erect with a stiff handshake, resourceful but only up to a point. The American, William Wilkie Collins, is by now well-known to us, as the one with the "large smile, happy and open heart."[43] But there is also the inevitable suspicion that he is a C.I.A. man, which the simple kampung youth translate as "Cara Ikat Anjing" or "The Way to Tame a Dog" because the diplomat had taught the penghulu how to manage his unpredictable pet. Collins is ever vigilant of the Russian's activities, but he is no match to his guile. They both go to find monkeys. The American comes back empty-handed and physically hurt, though not disabled. The Russian, on the other hand, by eliciting the help of young boys of the village, is more successful, much to the envy of the American. But the final victory is that of the Japanese, who, unlike the others, shows interest in the land, the orchards and the other natural resources around. When the penghulu is beset by a Chinese businessman, to whom the foolish Malay had mortgaged his durians, the resultant bickering reveals the foreigners in disarray. The Englishman needs medical help immediately, and what is to be done?

> "Sirs, leave this place quickly. Take the sick man away," says Koga with his eyes towards Nicholson.
>
> "But these people are quarreling. And you, what about you?" asks Poliakov moving closer to Koga.
>
> "I will stay here and settle the matter," replied Koga firmly.
>
> "Can you do that?" asks Oven.
>
> "Yes."
>
> "How?" Collins asks looking in surprise at Koga.
>
> "I know. I have a new way."[44]

Finally, we are introduced to a representative of present-day America, the hippie, in Shahnon Ahmad's "Angan-Angan Mr. Proudfoot" [Aspirations of Mr. Proudfoot].[45] When measured against that of two other writers who have commented on the hippie-type American, Shahnon Ahmad's satirical image is a bitter one. Usman Awang, who saw and talked to them while in America, is neutral-to-favorable in his attitude towards them, even though he has not written any poems about them. In his talk at the Lincoln Cultural Centre in 1970, he paints a touching picture of their dilemma:

> To me they appear to search for something they have lost before or

> that they might have left too far behind, shelved in the remotest corner of history. Their attention has been drawn so close to the Orient--to India or somewhere and they are fond of oriental music. They walk in pairs holding hands passionately like lovers. Sometimes they hold each other in their arms and in their faces we know they are cheerful. They came to me asking for cigarettes. Once a hippie couple came asking for a quarter from me. They tend to hate the American way of life and western civilization. I estimate that there was an undercurrent in opposing the established tradition and that democracy has been ridiculed. A hippie in his teens would like to feel that he is aged or perhaps one hundred years old, a teenager who is swimming in a sea of flowers, singing in the world of music and colour in the streets, a teenager who holds a flower in his right hand and a rifle in his left.[46]

The hippie, disillusioned with America and come to learn the secrets of the east is the theme of Fatimah Busu's poem, "Seorang Pengembara America" [An American traveller][47] which reads more like a short story. The traveller, labelled repeatedly as "the minor ambassador to the Third World," lands in Malaysia in his search for a meaningful experience, after fruitless ones in America. Kuala Lumpur disappoints him because it is much too much like New York and Washington, D.C. It is on the tropical beaches and in the kampungs that he will find the light. He places himself before an old and decaying bomoh, spirit woman, who is attracted by the young American. The traveller leaves on the 747 for Kathmandu, intending to meditate before a rishi at the peak of the Himalayas and he will move on. The real good fortune is that of the bomoh, who loses her spiritual power as a result of physical contact with him, but dies blissfully with an "eternal smile because death has long been wanted/to reach the Second Golden Age."

Throughout the poem, Fatimah Busu's tone, while mocking of the hippie, is nevertheless, light and gentle. And whether sincere or not, both her own and the hippie of Usman Awang wish to learn from the east. In contrast, Shahnon Ahmad's Mr. Proudfoot is driven by the arrogant mission to spread civilization to a primitive people, but ends up by learning a lesson he will never forget. His predecessors wanted to disseminate democracy and Christianity to the benighted; the new American missionary's lessons on freedom, however, include training in free sex, homosexuality, lesbianism, atheism, nihilism, rock music, drugs, anti-establishmentarianism, demonstrations--the gamut of sins for which the hippie is vilified in the popular mind. Except for his eventual and horrifying rebuke, the episode of Mr. Proudfoot could have been viewed as a broad farce. Certainly, the exaggerated picture of the man veers in that direction, for he is described as a newly-appointed lecturer from Buffalo, entering the Malaysian campus, barefooted, with a conspicuously long and dirty toenail, frayed shorts, and a drab singlet. His official subject of instruction, kebinatangan literally translates as "animalism."

But Mr. Proudfoot's dream of converting the campus into an anarchic sexual and political playground is short-lived. The students are on a "hippie hunt," see

an example in Mr. Proudfoot, truss him up in a sack, ready to hang him, and the story ends with uncertainty about the immediate future of the dreamer, but with no doubt at all about the writer's view of the overbearing American.

It is my guess that Shahnon Ahmad's image of the hippie will be the abiding one in Malay literature.[48] Shahnon Ahmad's is also a post-Vietnam view of an American. While the hippies or the young generally could have been accepted as allies in the battle against America during the Vietnam War, domestic problems related to drugs and demonstrations will not encourage a tolerance towards the hippie. Shahnon Amad is, of course, making a broader attack on the meddling Americans, but the hippie is singled out by him for trenchant commentary precisely because his presence is, at the moment, more conspicuous than that of the other Americans and because his influence on the youth of Malaysia is not slight.

THE AMERICA OF MUHAMMED HAJI SALLEH AND OTHERS

Not unnaturally, the campus youth of America, hippies and others, also attracted the attention of Muhammed Haji Salleh, recently returned after doing his Ph.D. in Comparative Literature at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.[49] Two poems, stretched across the three odd years that he was there, exhibit a growing empathy for the young and frustrated American. In the first, simply called "Ann Arbor, Michigan,"[50] the poet watches the emotional and intellectual malaise of the young, with an eye "fascinated but alienated/he watches with a mind that compares." In 1970, the Vietnam War is very much in their minds, as is the spiritual entrapment exercised by the older generation of leaders:

> in august you can hear
> the vietnam bombs exploding
> in the loudspeakers and nerve ends
> of young America, unhappy,
> caught between the politicians' pride
> and youthful uncertainties,
> they wither in the Summer.

Immediately after, Muhammed Haji Salleh's mind embraces the greater dilemma that is affecting America:

> America, nineteen hundred and seventy,
> is slowly strangled by its own words
> inflated by its money
> despaired by its problems
> somehow, the watcher stands there
> witnessing the doped giant
> grow impotent with its own madness.

Life, however, among the "honest, personal and somewhat sad" young Americans "is always at hand/small and intimately lived" if they were to turn their attention to the beauty of nature which the Huron River mirrors.

By the time Muhammed Haji Salleh was ending his sojourn in America, he was no longer the comparing, albeit feeling observer. In "Mahasiawa" [Undergraduate], he is much involved, and there is no moderation to empathy for the young. All the familiar themes are there--the sins of the old men ("America that is built by his own man/his grandfather/ancestor/who had hunted/the aborigines"), the noise of Vietnam ("the exploding bombs that/shred his existence"), but the portrait of the young American reveals an intimacy with his life-style and frustrations that had been coolly generalized in "Ann Arbor, Michigan."

behind him the university
that every year increases the fees
who lives between
the book shelves, laboratory
and promises of material and money.

Less observant of the behavior patterns of the young, but equally sensitive to their disillusionment with the Vietnam War, is another Malay poet, Firdaus Abdullah, who is completing his Ph.D. at Columbia University. On an earlier study trip to the United States in the 1960's, Firdaus Abdullah wrote one of a relatively few poems that accounts for the American personality. Most of his other poetry of the earlier decade, and also during his second stay, are laments of homesickness, more precisely, of his Minangkabau home.[52] Rarely does he display a sense of the place he is in or the people with whom he must be in daily contact. In his poetry, therefore, Firdaus Abdullah has never left home, and he appears determined to keep his Negri Sembilan roots intact in a foreign land. "Chengkarama Seorang Serdadu yang rindu"[53] is therefore exceptional in its total concern for the plight of a young American soldier, opposed to the war, who convinces his parents of the validity of his doubts, and pleads with them finally to deliver their questions to Johnson and McNamara.

Partly by coincidence (because at least three of the poets visiting or studying in America were based in the city or nearby) and in part because of a genuine fascination with its speed and bustle, New York forms a common theme among the Malay poets. There is a no more commanding image of the city by a Malay writer than that promoted by Muhammed Haji Salleh. The intellectually-inclined poet's absorption with New York City began early and he was quick to relay his impressions to his friends in the Malay literary world through Dewan Sastra:

"This country is not only mad with respect to its weather, but also in other ways. I was in New York a few days ago and at 3:00 a.m. people were still busy. The drunk, those sleeping on the streets, and other kinds of humans are here. The place is good for writing--especially Greenwich Village--the hippie writers' home."[54] When he wrote his famous New York poem, [55] Muhammed Haji Salleh had sufficiently absorbed his experience of the city, to make the awful conclusion that "This city has

no god/never had an after-life/What there is are humans/dog, rats and/concrete mountains/growing in Manhattan." And later in the poem, "This is not hell or heaven." Muhammed Haji Salleh's image of a godless New York spawned an imitator in a short-story writer who extravagantly sprayed the whole of the western world with the curse of godlessness. Of New York he wrote:

> New York: God has died here. The streets are closed. Talk of heaven hell has been suspended by the wave of propaganda. The creators of religion have no place here. Evil has been exposed. All the prophets are great fakes.[56]

Latiff Mohidin, who lived in Greenwich Village for a year while on a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship beginning in 1968, was impressed enough to write of his memories of the city in the poem, "Detik Itu Kembali Lagi" [That Moment Remembered].[57] Characteristically, Latiff Mohidin's is a personal account, not like the extravagantly metaphysical one delineated by Muhammed Haji Salleh; nevertheless the intent is the same, for step by step, he succinctly depicts the disturbing noise of turbulence in the American city.

> that moment came back
> New York
> One night in the summer
> turmoil endlessly gathers
> on my side
> in the lift
> that does not want to stop
> newspaper in my hand feels huge
> I hear
> guitar strings plucked in harlem
> the resounding of a drum called subway
> breaking every glass and mirror
> I hear:
> the cry of a future prophet
> who staggers in the bowery
> godislove
> I fold up the newspaper
> And the lift comes down faster.

Even though Greenwich Village has had some impact on Latiff Mohidin's artistic aspirations, encouraged, it must be added, by his personal style as a wanderer even before he went there, New York or any other place in America did not elicit more than one poem from him. With Firdaus Abdullah relentlessly longing for home, Muhammed Haji Salleh then is about the only Malay writer who provides us with a substantial literary account of his reactions to America. Apart from his philosophical view of New York and identification with the young, he also wrote a few poems

directly concerned with the Vietnam War. Unlike his fellow poets at home who, as we have seen, make a sweeping attack on America, Muhammed Haji Salleh attempts to uncover the fundamental causes, but arrives at similar, if not more, horrifying conclusions.

> therefore, if you are accidently killed
> or broken by a bullet from a tired soldier
> that is no matter
> you are of a different colour
> and not a human being like us.[58]

For the home writers, there was a deliverance from the American nightmare, if the Asians were strong and united. For Muhammed Haji Salleh, there is no escape from the casual, unthinking murder. If you are of the wrong color, then you are condemned to death because "the life of the black is closer to the bullet/Clearer to the blue eyes . . . From here where do we go/Is the death the only way out/of the condition/Can only white be good and beautiful/Only whites who have a meaningful language/And God, is he white?"[59]

Muhammed Haji Salleh's spiritual and metaphysical loneliness in America is leavened when he meets men and women of his kind and color; the American Indian, for instance, whose cultural bearing is close to his own--his appeals for comradeship and warm talk--quite unlike the anonymous existence that characterizes the rest of the Americans. One late night at a station, he discovers one such kin:

> Maybe he is from the south
> from a large plantation
> from a village that still knows family
> or appreciates voice.[60]

Another kindred soul is the native Hawaiian ukulele player:

> He is erect on the stool
> Like a coconut trunk
> in an island that has outcast him
> embracing a ukulele
> and music that only he
> knows comes from within
> without an important listener.[61]

It is of interest to note here that the Malay writers ascribe no culture (that is culture with a capital 'C') to the white Americans. Those who have visited America have never commented, for example, on American literature, theatre, dance, or even the movies--folk songs, yes, but as has been pointed out earlier, only those of the protest variety. From reading Malay literature one gets the impression that America has no culture in the traditional sense as in Asia, but it is a people and a

country of murderers, hunters after material wealth and pleasurable sexual experiences. Americans are also a lonely, disturbed, and frustrated people, unlike the American Indians or the native Hawaiians who, even if menaced by materialism, transcend the threat with an impressive culture. Furthermore, the visitors hardly talk of any pleasant or positive experience they might have had in America. It is difficult to believe they had none, and in private talks with some of them, they did not deny this fact;[62] nevertheless, apart from Muhammed Haji Salleh, all others have demurred from writing about happy times in America in their public literary works. The poem, which most of the Malay sojourners have written, is, of course, a distillation of myriad experiences. Even so, among those moments which happened, it is curious that rarely have the pleasant ones inspired a verse or two. One must conclude that the overall impact of America on the writers has been negative, and with the exception of Muhammed Haji Salleh, they have preferred to impress their readers with a total sense of America rather than with anything specific which might have occasioned the remembrance of some pleasant moment. Perhaps also the compulsion which the agony of Vietnam provoked and the political aura of the war overwhelmed any experience of a positive moment in America.

In comparison, then, Muhammed Haji Salleh's is the most balanced view of America, particularly in his retrospective of it written while back in Malaysia. In "Pulang Si Tenggang" [The homecoming of Si Tenggang],[63] he explains that while different in some ways, he is still a Malay and quite as rooted in Malay culture as are his brethren. But he has been "freed from the village/independent, because/I have found myself." His American travel was part of a journey towards self-discovery:

> I have learnt
> to be blunt
> to hold reality in a new logic
> debate with hard and loud facts.

However, he has adopted no more than this tough intellectual temperament, for his emotional and cultural home is still Malaysia, and thus he too is "polite/respecting/ man and life." Muhammed Haji Salleh has not been an exile in America because he has been confident of his Malay personality; to his advantage, he has been able "to choose/To accept those [beliefs] tested by comparison/or that which matches the words of my ancestors."

On the other hand, Zakaria Ali, painter, poet, short-story writer and art student at Southwestern University, Texas, writes very much like an exile in America. His Malay roots are only evident when he talks touchingly of his family in Malaysia, and by the fact that in the last three years, he has been sending his writings to Malay literary magazines. Apart from these ties, his reference points are America, to be sure, a subculture of that country, but nevertheless American. His intellectual and psychological mentors are Neitszche, Henry Miller, and Herman Hesse and his way of living, as described in his literary works, much absorbed by an ecstatic neurosis that a young man can feel in America.[64]

Such a bearing on him is necessary when we consider his writings, lest we be misled to think that his negative images of America breathe impulses similar to other Malay writers. Having made this important qualification, it must also be pointed out that his best-known work, a short story called "Arah ke Selatan" [Going south],[65] which recently won a literary prize in Malaysia, will as a consequence, be read widely, at least among Malay literary personalities if not the general Malay reading public and therefore any images he projects of America are important and worthy of study and comment.

"Arah ke Selatan" describes a Kafkaesque nightmare of a young man, Jebat, who has a casual, and entirely sexual realtionship with a disturbed teenager, and consequently, on the instigation of the girl's father, he is hounded by the American immigration authorities. Eventually, Jebat finds a new identity and flies to freedom in Mexico, but not before he leaves behind numerous juicy throwaway comments on America, expressing the typical stance of an existentialist. For example:

> America is a delicious kindergarten where man has devised a system disallowing them from becoming adults. America is Kathy who likes to swallow birth control pills and God knows what else. America teaches me to hate with pride.

Zakaria Ali does not deviate from the generally alienated response exhibited by the other Malay writers towards America, but it is obvious from the above that both the tone and the subject matter of this interesting writer is entirely distinct. Still, whichever manner Zakaria Ali is approached, either as a typical representative of Malay literary views on America or a victim of the American malaise, he would hardly encourage a favorable attitude towards the United States among Malay writers and their readers.

RESPONSE TO THE WEST

Which of the images we have described are unique to America and which among them are peculiar to those often associated with western countries and people in general? Let us start with matters obvious and negative. Not being involved in any large or protracted Asian war, the Europeans were relatively immune from the opprobrium expressed towards America. A poem or two, while showing disapproval of imperialism, has accused Britain for its participation in it, more especially, its silence on the apartheid policies of the whites in Rhodesia.[66] Russia, as has been mentioned earlier, has been identified by Usman Awang, for instance, as one of two great powers responsible for disturbing the peace of the world. But this was not an abiding concern, as evidenced by the fact that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia inspired no poem or any other literary mention either approving or disapproving of the action. While the west as a region is often dubbed the colonizer and the imperialist, in contrast to its victims in the Third World, America, by virtue of its lengthy

military presence in Asia, has been the single most important object of scorn, and for the most part in Malay poetry and short stories, bore the burden alone.

No western city has provoked the troubling awe that has characterized the reactions of the Malay writers to New York City. Muhammed Haji Salleh and Latiff Mohidin have both travelled to Europe, and have written poems on their experiences there, but none of their literature compares with the despair they reveal towards New York. While at Dover, for example, Muhammed Haji Salleh likened the place to the tragedy of King Lear, so that if the image is not a pleasant one, it is, at least endowed with impressive cultural credentials.[67] So too with his impressions of Copenhagen where he is lead to comment that there is some of Hamlet in all of us.[68] Latiff Mohidin's West German poems are not so cheerful either, but they have none of the fear of non-existence touched upon in "Detik Itu Kembali Lagi."[69] One cannot therefore escape the conclusion that New York created a response unique to that city.

The moral and cultural stance of the Malay writers, on the other hand, join Europe with America to form a total vision of an unethical and threatening civilization. In the years immediately following independence, when the British presence in Malaysian political and social life was still strong, Malay writers were just as severe towards their former colonists as they were to be towards the Americans about a decade later. "Mereka Tidak Mengerti" [They do not understand],[70] a short story by Keris Mas from that period, is really politically motivated to hasten the expulsion of the remaining British power in the country and bring the new nation to the responsibilities of its own unfettered destiny, but the portrait of the wily Englishman, Bill also takes on the unmistakable aura of moral revulsion at the foot-scraping and scheming permanent secretary to a Malay minister. The venom spewed out at the sexual designs of the seedy English school master, Mr. Johnny Armstrong, by Shahnon Ahmad in his story, "Dunia Tuhan Yang Indah" [God's beautiful world][71] is as poisonous at that which infected Mr. Proudfoot some ten years later. The Englishman seduces his young pupils by the ruse of giving the innocents extra science-coaching in his bungalow. Being an inveterate hedonist, he has no moral compunctions about his behavior, and when he has his fill of pleasure, he will return home to his country.

With the waning of the British influence and the subsequent rise of the American, not alone in politics but also in social and cultural matters, Americans replaced the English as the special objects of vilification. But no westerner, be he a Frenchman or German is excepted from the charge of moral laxity and all westernized Malays are also given a hard drubbing.[72] An encounter between a European and a Malay is often posed as a fundamental conflict of cultures, with the latter's emerging as the preferred one.[73] Rarely is a meeting between the two parties happily resolved; in the end there is an inevitable parting of the ways, often with the westerner having been taught a moral lesson, and the Malay saved from the clutches of a seductive but morally reprehensible world. The few who are trapped are also the misguided ones and therefore deserve their fate.[74] A rare exception to this unhappy theme is

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a story by Mokhtar Daud called "Chorak-Chorak Zaman"[Characteristics of era],[74] where there is an empathetic relationship between two young men, one a Malay, Aziz, and the Englishman, Owen. Unlike his father who is a typical representative of the prejudice-ridden colonial mentality, Owen is sympathetic to the aspirations of the newly-independent nation, symbolized by Aziz. In turn, the young Malay executive is comfortable with the understanding Owen:

> Aziz likes him. He is a member of the new English society. He reached adulthood after the Second World War, that is an era when countries colonized by his, awoke to consciousness, struggled, then broke free the chains of slavery imposed upon them for many centuries.

We might recall a similar gesture of acceptance extended to the American young by Usman Awang and especially Muhammed Haji Salleh. The American youth too, these poets explained, have to contend with a myopic older generation. Although their plight is on a larger scale and holds more terrifying consequences for their nation, "Mr. Proudfoot" and other stories suggest, however, that there is no consensus on this matter on the part of the Malay writers. This ambivalence concerns both the Americans and the Europeans, therefore producing some relief to the otherwise negative image of America and the west.

NOTES

1. The starting point for this paper, 1957, was chosen because it was the year when independence was declared and when Malaysia (or Malaya as it was called then) began to conduct her own foreign relations with other countries, including the United States.
2. Of the thousands of stories that have been published in newspapers, magazines, and as books during this period, the present writer only managed to find less than a dozen that contain portraits of Americans. Beginning with 1971, the number of Malay short studies published each year becomes a calculable matter. In that year the Hadiah Sastra or Literary Prize was launched. Each year the Hadiah Sastra Secretariat collects all the published Malay poetry, novels, short stories (and in recent years, dramas and literary essays) and presents them to a panel of judges for their perusal and consideration. Taking 1972 as a random year, not an untypical one, it might be added, we discover that 471 short stories were published in that year. (See Suara Musim: antoloji karya hadiah sastra 1971. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, p. 57.)
3. Some three dozen poems have been so identified, of which a large portion is the "American" poetry of three writers who are either studying there or who have returned from an American sojourn. In 1972, 1,728 poems were considered by the Hadiah Sastra panel of judges. Ibid., p. 5.
4. The exception is Zakaria Ali, painter, poet, and short-story writer, now studying in Southwestern University, Texas, and who, for reasons which will be explained later in this paper, has to be treated separately.
5. Shahnon Ahmad, "Jahanam" (Hell) in Perajurit Yang Pulang dan lain-lain cherita. (Toko Buku Abbas Bandong, Melaka, 1964, pp. 1-9.)
6. English translation by an unknown author of a soon-to-be-published talk at the Lincoln Centre by the poet, Usman Awang, on his return from America. Kuala Lumpur, September 22, 1970. Used with the kind permission of the poet.
7. To be found in Usman Awang, Gelombang (Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1961).
8. Muhammed Haji Salleh, "Tradition and Innovation in Contemporary Malay-Indonesian Poetry," Tenggara 7. (Kuala Lumpur, 1975, p. 45.)
9. Niagara Falls emerges as a dynamic symbol of America's hugeness and turmoil for at least two poets, namely Usman Awang (who mentions the "thunderous" Niagara in another poem, "Blood and Prayer"), and in Latiff Mohidin's "Sungei Mekong," which will be discussed later. When Usman Awang went to the United States in 1970, one of the places he most wanted to see was Niagara Falls. To his regret, due to some administrative problems with his itinerary, his wish was never fulfilled. The other spots of interest for him were Lincoln's tomb and statue, which he did see. Hollywood and Disneyland, to which he was also taken, were, in comparison, very low on his personal itinerary. (From a conversation with Usman Awang, May 1976.)

10. Usman Awang, "Kemanusiaan" (Humanity), Duridan Api (Toko Buku Abbas Bandong, Melaka), p. 19. English translation by Adibah Amin in the possession of the poet.
11. To be found in Perintis Sajak-Sajak Melayu. (Penerbit Fajar Bakti, Kuala Lumpur, 1976, first published in 1971, p. 78.) First appeared in Utusan Zaman (newspaper), February 19, 1961. English translation by the present writer.
12. Malaysian foreign policy towards the United States and Vietnam in the 1960's is well explained by James W. Gould, The United States and Malaysia (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1969). See especially chapter 9. The two paragraphs that follow are largely a summary of his account.
13. This began in March, when anti-Vietnam demonstrations greeted the visit to Kuala Lumpur of the Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, William P. Bundy, and was followed by the wrecking of the U. S. I. S. library when the American troops came for their R and R in July 1966. The climax came during Johnson's visit to Malaysia, when for the first time anti-American activities were reported in cities other than the federal capital. A Chinese youth was killed in front of the U. S. I. S. library in Kuala Lumpur, and his martyrdom was a cause celebre for some time. (See James W. Gould, ibid., p. 233.)
14. One among them was Professor Wang Gungwu, then Head of the History Department, University of Malaya, whose highly respected opinions were often quoted by the press. For an academic version of his view, see Wang Gungwu, "Communism in Asia," Journal, Historical Society, University of Malaya, V (1966/67), pp. 11-12.
15. Nahmar Jamil, "Vietnam Bergolak" (Vietnam Struggles) in Nahmar Jamil, Pohon-Pohon Hijau. (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, p. 65.) English translation by the present writer.
16. Nik Mohd. Zain, "Gema Dunia" (Reverberations of the World) in Perintis Sajak-Sajak Melayu, op. cit., pp. 93-94. English translation by the present writer.
17. "Rayuan Wanita Asia" (Plea of the Asian Woman) in Baha Zain, Perempuan dan Bayang-Bayang. (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, p. 12.) An English translation by Muhammed Haji Salleh to be found in Some Poems from Malaysia. (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, p. 25.)
18. "Sungei Mekong" (Mekong River), in Latiff Mohidin, Kembara Malam: Kumpulan Sajak dan Sketsa. (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1974, p. 16.) English translation by Adibah Amin can be found in Some Poems of Malaysia, op. cit., p. 11.
19. Muhammed Haji Salleh, "Recent Trends in Malay-Indonesia Poetry," in Occasional Papers, No. 1. (Institute of Malay Language Literature and Culture, National University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1975, p. 58.)
20. See Usman Awang, "Senandung Rakyat" in Dewan Bahasa, Jilid XII, Bil. 10, Oktober 1968, pp. 460-466.

21. Usman Awang, "Blood and Prayer," in Some Poems of Malaysia, op. cit., p. 4.
22. Usman Awang, "Greetings to the Continent," in Some Poems of Malaysia, op. cit., p. 1.
23. Empathy for the blacks is expressed by Kemala, for example, as early as 1963. See Kemala, "Buat Negro" (For the Negro) in Laungan (Penerbitan Federal Berhad, Kuala Lumpur, 1966).
24. M. Noor Azam, "Kehidupan Orang-Orang Red Indian" in Dewan Masharakat, Jilid 11, Bil. 5., 15 Mei 1964, p. 16. (The quoted passage translated by the present writer.)
25. Usman Awang, Talk at Lincoln Cultural Centre, op. cit.
26. Usman Awang, "Salji Hitam" (Black Snow) in Dewan Sastra, January 1971, p. 59. English translation by Adibah Amin in the possession of the poet.
27. Usman Awang, Talk at Lincoln Cultural Centre, op. cit.
28. Michael Leifer, The Foreign Relations of the New States. (Longmans Australia, 1974, p. 100.)
29. Kamarul Ariffin, "Bila Melihat Kembalinya POWS" in Dewan Sastra, Julai 1973, p. 25.
30. The untitled poem is in the possession of the poet.
31. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, "Orang Dari Seberang" (Man from Overseas) in Matinya Seorang Pahlawan. (Sharikat Dian Sdn. Bhd., Kota Bharu, 1971, pp. 150-172.) All quoted passages from this text are translated by the present writer.
32. At one point during their conversations, Ani questions the American motives in Vietnam, but she cannot best John's counter-questions, "Are there any of your people who are willing to enter their own jungles to teach the barbaric ones? See we come here from afar spreading scientific knowledge for free. You must be grateful, Ani." Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., p. 161.
33. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., p. 171.
34. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., p. 172.
35. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., pp. 117-132. Quoted passages have been translated by the present writer.
36. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., p. 117.
37. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., p. 122.
38. John in "Man from Overseas" is also prone to weeping, thus impressing Ani with his human feelings. See Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., p. 167.
39. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., pp. 123-124.
40. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, ibid., p. 132.
41. Mohd. Affandi Hassan, "Le Masque" in Le Masque. (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, pp. 13-20.)
42. Arena Wati, "Wisata" (Picnicking) in Dalam Perjalanan: antoloji cerpen hadiah sastra, 1971. (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1972, pp. 44-58.) Quoted passages translated by the present writer.
43. Arena Wati, ibid., p. 49.
44. Arena Wati, ibid., p. 58.

45. Shahnon Ahmad, "Angan-Angan Mr. Proudfoot" (Aspirations of Mr. Proudfoot) in the newspaper, Berita Minggu, March 18, 1975.
46. Usman Awang, "Talk at the Lincoln Cultural Centre," op. cit.
47. Fatimah Busu, "Seorang Pengembara America" (An American Traveller), Dewan Sastra, March 1975, pp. 10-11. Quoted passage translated by the present writer.
48. It would be well to keep in mind that Shahnon Ahmad's story appeared in a newspaper, thus giving his view much wider circulation than those of Fatimah Busu and Usman Awang. Currently Shahnon Ahmad is a "hot" writer and Berita Minggu, aware of this fact, gave prominence to the story, headlining it as "Cerpen baru Shahnon" (Shahnon's new short story).
49. Muhammed Haji Salleh is presently the Director of the Institute of Malay Language, Literature, and Culture, National University of Malaysia.
50. In Muhammed Haji Salleh, Sajak-Sajak Pendatang. (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, pp. 27-28.) English translation by the poet himself in Some Poems of Malaysia, op. cit., pp. 19-20. A difference in the first verse between the two versions should be noted. The Malay says: "Diatas rumput petang terbaring pelajar-perajar/dengan rohoh atau marijuana/ atau hanya melontar frisbee" ("students on afternoon grass, with cigarettes or marijuana/or simply hunting frisbees").
51. Muhammed Haji Salleh, op. cit., pp. 61-62. English translation of the quoted passage by the present writer.
52. See for example, "San Francisco," Berita Minggu, 17 July 1966; "Surat dari Expo" (Letter from Expo), Berita Minggu, 16 January 1967, "Senandung rindu di-pulau Hawaii" (Song of Longing in Hawaii), Dewan Masyarakat, January 1969; "Perspectif" (Perspective), Dewan Sastra, November 1973; "Surat dari New York" (Letter from New York), Berita Minggu, 2 December 1973. A collection of Firdaus Abdullah's poetry is in galley proof under the publication supervision of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. The above citations are taken from the galley proof copy with the kind permission of the Dewan Sastra.
53. Firdaus Abdullah, "Chengkarama Seorang seriadu yang rindu," Berita Minggu, 15 January 1967. "Chengkarama" is really untranslatable, but it has the meaning of light or audacious talk, and in this poem refers to that of a lamenting soldier.
54. Muhammed Haji Salleh, "Surat dari New York" (Letter from New York), in Dewan Sastra, April 1972, p. 13. Translation of the quoted passage by the present writer.
55. Muhammed Haji Salleh, Sajak-Sajak Pendatang, op. cit., pp. 11-12. Quoted passage translated by the present writer.
56. Mana Sikana, "Hippokondriakal" (Hypochondria), Dewan Sastra, December 1975, p. 17. Quoted passage translated by the present writer.
57. Latiff Mohidin, "Detik Itu Kembali Lagi" (That moment remembered) in Suara Musim, op. cit., pp. 46-47. Quoted passage translated by the present writer.

58. From "Tiga Pembicara" (Three Discussants) in Muhammed Haji Salleh, Sajak-Sajak Pendatang, op. cit., p. 29. The passage quoted translated by the present writer.

59. From "Attica" in Muhammed Haji Salleh's Sajak-Sajak Pendatang, op. cit., p. 32. Passage quoted translated by the present writer.

60. From "Larut Malam disebuah stesyen" (Late Night at a Station) in Muhammed Haji Salleh, Pulang Si Tenggang II (Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1975), p. 9. Quoted passage translated by the present writer.

61. Muhammed Haji Salleh, "Pemain Ukelele" (Ululele Player), soon to be published. Quoted with the kind permission of the poet. Passage translated by the present writer.

62. Muhammed Haji Salleh wrote some love poems while in America, but either for reasons of privacy or taste, he has not published them. A well-known Malay literary critic informs me that his friends, many of whom are Malay writers, refused to believe him when he narrated a happy experience he had in Denver, least of all, when he told them that the American family who extended their generous hospitality to him, were very religious. (From a conversation with Abu Bakar Hamid, May 1976.)

63. "Pulang Si Tenggang" (The Homecoming of Si Tenggang) in Muhammed Haji Salleh, Buku Perjalan Si Tenggang II, op. cit., pp. 3-5. English translation by the poet himself and in his possession, and here used with his consent. "Si Tenggang" is a legendary figure of the Malay-Indonesia world, who went in search of riches and betrayed his motherland. Muhammed Haji Salleh's "Si Tenggang II" went in search of knowledge but has not, however, betrayed his roots.

64. See especially his diaries in Dewan Sastra and more particularly, "Dari Dairi Zakaria Ali" (From the Diary of Zakaria Ali) in Dewan Sastra, September 1973, pp. 4-7, 22.

65. Zakaria Ali, "Arah ke Selatan" (Going South), in Dewan Masyarakat, Jilid XIII, Bil. 6, 15 June 1975, pp. 56-59. Quoted passages are translated by the present writer.

66. See Nik Mohd. Zain, "Gema Dunia" (Reverberations of the World) in Perintis Sajak-Sajak Melayu, op. cit., p. 93.

67. See "King Lear" in Muhammed Haji Salleh, Sajak-Sajak Pendatang, op. cit., p. 35.

68. See "Helsingor," in Muhammed Haji Salleh, Buku Perjalanan Si Tenggang II, op. cit., p. 13.

69. See especially "Kau Tidak Akan Mengerti" (You Will Not Understand) in Latiff Mohidin, Kembara Malam, op. cit., p. 6.

70. Keris Mas, "Mereka Tidak Mengerti," Dewan Bahasa, October 1969. English version by Abidah Amin in Tenggera 4 (Kuala Lumpur, 1969), pp. 4-25.

71. Shahnon Ahmad, "Dunia Tuhan Yang Indah" (God's Beautiful World) in Shahnon Ahmad, Anjing-Anjing. (Jambatan Mas [PTM], Kuala Lumpur, 1964, pp. 61-72.)

72. As a sample, see Shahnon Ahmad, "Kesah Malam Lustrum" (The Affair of the Old Boys' Night) in Majallah Fajar, Universiti Malaya (Singapore), pp. 151-159; and A. Rahman Rahim, "Tuan dan Mem" (Sir and Lady) in A. Rahman Rahim, Yang Lama dan Yang Baru. (Pustaka Melayu Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1965, pp. 1-12.)

73. Hamsiah Hamid, "Timur dan Barat" (East and West) in Wanita Antoloji Cerpen-Cerpen Wanita. (Penerbitan Pustaka Antara, Kuala Lumpur, 1964, pp. 98-106), Wan Hashim, "Natasha" in Dewan Sastra, 15 April 1976, pp. 30-36.

74. See Mohd. Affandi Hassan, "Terkena" (Caught) in Mohd. Affandi Hassan, Le Masque, op. cit., pp. 62-74.

75. Mokhtar Daud, "Chorak-Chorak Zaman" ("Characteristic of Era") in Dewan Bahasa, Jilid XV, Bil. 7, June 1971, pp. 265-272. Quoted passage translated by the present writer.

76. "Chorak-Chorak Zaman," op. cit., p. 271.

IMAGES OF AMERICA:

AN ANALYSIS OF

TAGALOG

SHORT STORIES

Laura Lorenzo Samson

INTRODUCTION

The Philippines was a colony of the United States for at least half a century and has maintained an economically dependent relationship with it despite the formal grant of independence in 1946.

This is a basic reality for every Filipino. Consciously or unconsciously, he deals with America; directly or indirectly, he acts towards America. America is a reality in his past and in his present.

Every Filipino sees America in a particular way, each one clings to a particular image of America. However, certain images of America may be shared. There are ideological mechanisms within society that help individuals see reality in a similar way. There are cultural middlemen in society who have the power and the talent to manipulate symbols and fabricate images. Through these ideological mechanisms, images can be mass-produced, standardized, packaged, and promoted.

One important ideological mechanism is literature. Literature is a factory and a central bank of images. It contains not a simple reproduction of what exists but a selection from external reality arranged from a particular point of view. Literature may generate and store illusions that in a sense become real because of their consequences.

Literature is far from being a mere recipient of social forces. Given the context of Philippine neocolonial reality, literature can be used to fabricate or strengthen the myths glorifying the relationship of dependence that exists between the Philippines and the United States. Literature can also be used to shatter such colonial myths and to make people conscious of breaking the chains of dependence.

This paper proceeds from a wider problem: that of defining the nature of interrelationship of Philippine literature and Philippine society after the war. Essentially, I am interested in the political functions of literature in the postwar Philippine society.

In an attempt to clarify this wider problem and in consonance with the theme of this seminar, this paper will attempt to identify and explain the changing images of America as found in popular Tagalog short stories from 1946 to 1971.

METHODOLOGY

The data for this paper are based on an analysis of Tagalog short stories published after the war in Liwayway, the oldest and the most widely circulated weekly vernacular magazine.

The stories analyzed can be considered as logical sources of popular images. The short story as a form is more popular and readable than the novel, and because it is a much shorter form, it is easier to write. Thus, it is also more responsive to a changing intellectual climate. The stories chosen are written in Tagalog, the language closest to the hearts of the majority of Filipinos.

Liwayway first appeared as Photo News in 1922. During the Japanese occupation, it came to be known as Manila Shinbun-sya, the only publication allowed to open under the management of the Japanese. In 1966, Liwayway had an average weekly circulation of 182,000 as compared to its closest rivals, Tagumpay with 123,000 and Bulaklak, 103,000. At present Liwayway is the lone surviving and unchallenged weekly vernacular magazine.

The sample here analyzed consists of stories published in 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966, and 1971.

A total of 52 issues are published every year. Two hundred seventy-eight out of 312 issues published during the six years included in the sample were read. The rest of the issues were missing. The number of issues read gave a total of 1,630 stories.

All stories were classified as A, B, and C stories, which are defined as follows:

A stories:	those which do not deal with America or Americans in any manner
B stories: (minor stories)	those which allude to or make mention of America or Americans
C stories: (major stories)	those whose plot involves American characters or Filipino characters related to America or Americans in certain ways

Given this classification, only B and C stories can be considered relevant for identifying images of America and Americans.

Thus, of 1,630 stories only 119 B stories and 43 C stories (a total of 162 stories) were actually analyzed.

With respect to the minor stories, certain portions of the text that made mention of America or Americans were considered. America or Americans may be mentioned in the narration and in the dialogue, which may take the form of an ordinary conversation, a debate, a lecture, a letter, or a speech. As much as possible, themes defining an image were abstracted from these relevant elements by considering them within the context of the relevant story as a whole.

With respect to the major stories, themes defining a particular image of America or Americans were abstracted from the setting, the plot, and the major American and Filipino characters.

Setting: time, place, and events involving America or Americans

Major American Characters:
- as symbols of certain events
- their major qualities, their roles, their goals, their concerns as described by the author in the narration
- their major qualities as revealed in what they do, what they say, and how they relate to other characters
- their major qualities as revealed through the consciousness, attitude, and reaction of other characters in the story

Major Filipino Characters:
- as symbols of certain events and relations with America or Americans
- their perception of, their experiences with, and behavior towards America or Americans
- their major qualities as described by the author, as revealed in what they say and do, and the consciousness, attitude, and reaction of other characters in the story

Plot: flow of actions and events
- resolution of conflict
- fate of characters in the story

A summary of the themes abstracted from the stories is provided in the appendix. The stories were analyzed according to whether they reveal a positive or a negative image of America and Americans.

After abstracting the images of America and Americans from the text of the stories for each year, the different images were compared to evaluate changes over time. The nature of the images and the change of images were then analyzed in relation to the socio-historical context.

FINDINGS: IMAGES OF AMERICA AND AMERICANS
1946

The Glittering Image: America--Friend, Ally, and Liberator

Filipinos beheld America like a precious jewel in 1946. In at least fifteen stories, she is referred to as a symbol of liberation from Japanese oppression and from the bondage of poverty. Her major representatives, the American soldiers and officials are portrayed as friends, partners, and allies of the Filipinos against the Japanese.

Friendship and alliance are based on the assumption that the interests of the Filipinos and Americans are identical. Commonality of interests implies commitment to mutual defense; Americans and Filipinos have common friends and common enemies. A declaration of war by any country against America is at the same time a declaration of war against the Philippines. This is the 'logic' of Ninoy, a Filipino guerilla, in the story "Doon sa Nayon" [There in the barrio].

The sincerity of the Filipinos' commitment to a united struggle against the Japanese is portrayed in the story "Umigkas ang Bagwis" [The wings flipped]. Despite the intense drive of the Japanese in this story to get him, Milanding, the captain of Filipino guerillas, persisted with the task of bringing food and information to thousands of American soldiers detained in a Japanese concentration camp.

The Long Wait for the Liberators

Only America can save the Philippines from the monstrosity of the Japanese. This belief can account for the spread of the virus of 'awaitism' among the people. Faced with deprivation and violence during the Japanese occupation, the Filipinos long for the good old days with the American masters.

The strong belief that Americans will soon return kept the fire of resistance burning. As related by the guerilla in the story "Ako'y Baliw" [I'm crazy], the projected coming of the Americans serves as an inspiration for him to continue with the struggle.

> My bitterness against the Japanese is sweetened by the thoughts that after the struggle . . . after the difficulties we have encountered in the mountains, the much-awaited Liberators will come . . . our

> American friends, to liberate us from poverty which will not last. They will come not only to give us liberty but will also reward those who have fought for it. These sweet and slippery truths are like birds roving in my consciousness.

The Filipinos anticipated the return of the Americans for a variety of reasons. Essentially, the 'return' would mean the flowering of democratic ideals, peace, and abundance. The lovers in the stories "Ako'y Baliw" [I'm crazy], "Ang Kanyang Kasintahan" [His girlfriend], and "Pustahan ng mga Puso" [Bet of the hearts] were looking forward to a wedding after the coming of the Americans.

Leonor and her two sons in the story "Nalagot na Tanikala" [Broken chains] looked forward to a reunion with her American husband who left the country before the war. Similarly, the father in the story "Sugat sa Alaala" [A wound in the memory] was praying for America's return so that he can be reunited with his children after years of separation.

A Rousing Welcome for G. I. Joe

America's image as a liberator is projected by the coming of American soldiers together with their 'goodies'--candy bars, canned goods, blankets, etc. When they came, the Filipinos rejoiced. Young and old, they lined the streets, shouting, congratulating, and welcoming their liberators. The great ovation for G. I. Joe is vividly described in the story "Ang Kanyang Kasintahan" [His girlfriend]:

> The people were jubilant. While the soldiers were triumphantly parading in selected streets in Manila, the houses along the way were emptied of people. Young and old, men and women, jostled on both sides of the streets.
>
> Everybody rejoices. The Americans made friends and acquaintances. There were few homes who had no visitors. The soldiers narrated the struggles they had. The people on the other hand, aired their grievances against the tyranny of the Japanese.

The earnest, warm-hearted Joe easily became the darling of the Filipino people. Every native home was thrown open to him. The Filipinos were grateful and Joe experienced their overwhelming sense of gratitude.

Love-Hate Relationship with G. I. Joe

With the coming of the Americans, however, not all the dreams nurtured before the liberation were realized. Many of the much-awaited weddings did not

materialize. The prospective brides in "Ako'y Baliw" [I'm crazy], "Ang Kanyang Kasintahan" [His girlfriend] and "Bayad Utang" [Debt payment], junked their guerrilla boyfriends and flirted with the American soldiers.

As discussed by the author of the story "Ang Kanyang Kasintahan," the coming of the Americans has both a good and a bad side.

> Anything has its advantages and disadvantages . . . Like the coming of the Americans in our land.
>
> It cannot be denied that they gave us liberation, our independence and the comforts we are enjoying. Because of them, the tyrant Japanese were driven out. Once again, peace, which for some years we were deprived of, lives in our hearts. Because of them, hunger is eliminated.
>
> But . . . unintentionally, they did harm. Because of them, many hearts were hurt, many souls became lonely and many lovers parted ways.

The G.I. was perceived as a threat by the Filipino males. He was a rival in love and an agent of modernization who was considered to be corrupting the virtuous Filipinas.

In the story "Ang Kanyang Kasintahan" [His girlfriend], Josefino was very much irritated to see his girlfriend, Myrna, entertaining American soldiers as visitors. To test her fidelity, Josefino requested Robert, an American mestizo, to court Myrna. Myrna fell into the trap--she broke off with Josefino, reciprocated the love of Robert within a very short time, and allowed Robert to kiss her. By doing all these, Myrna violated several norms: the Filipina's sense of loyalty in love, the "no-touch-before-marriage" principle, and the tradition of courtship characterized by a long period of courtship and servitude by the male. For all these violations, she got what she deserved; she was jilted by Robert.

Tirso was also junked by Biheng in the story "Bayad Utang" [Debt payment]. Biheng fell for Jacky, a Black American soldier who was portrayed as a good provider. He saved the family of Biheng from deprivation, gave them a truck-load of construction materials and provided them with capital to put up a stall for selling wine. The price of all these, of course, was the love of Biheng. After a while, Jacky had to leave and Biheng was left crying at the port. From Tirso's point of view, this was not enough punishment for Biheng's infidelity. Tirso requested his friend, Martin, a married merchant, to help him with his desire for revenge. Lured by the glitter of cash, Martin was able to trap Biheng. Martin took advantage of Biheng and then left her weeping.

Although women such as Myrna and Biheng were made to suffer for their

infidelity, some writers recognize that the Filipina cannot be totally blamed. There was a general degeneration of values in society as a whole. The Filipina was a mere victim of the growing materialism in a society that transformed everything, including her, into a commodity. She was also a captive of the idolatrous mentality encouraged by society. Necessity and idolatry drove the Filipina into the welcoming and providing arms of G. I. Joe.

The Filipinos never took these developments for granted. In the story "Bayad Utang" [Debt payment], Tirso and his friends used their fists to drive the Black American soldiers away from their barrio. In the story "Nakaiwas sa Baga" [She was able to avoid fire], the elder brother advised his sister on her dealings with the Americans and reminded her of labels predominant in society like hanggang piyer, up to the port only, "jeep girl," and others. One extreme reaction was insanity as in the case of the guerilla in the story "Ako'y Baliw" [I'm crazy].

Disappointment and Faith

Not all those who fought against the Japanese were recognized and properly rewarded. As related by the guerilla in "Ako 'y Baliw," their troop was disbanded and their arms confiscated.

The Americans, however, were never the object of disappointment. Those with shattered dreams held to the belief that America was sympathetic to their needs and would work for justice and the fulfillment of democratic ideals. In fact, the Filipinos themselves were responsible for the corruption and non-fulfillment of these ideals.

In the story "Sayang na Buhay" [Wasted life], Catalino Diwa criticized the government's irresponsibility and mishandling of funds.

> As time goes on, the anomaly became serious. Food and clothing were lost and never reached their destination. There was a lot of conflict and misunderstanding regarding backpay, the election, the collaborators and the money given by America.
>
> The Filipinos fought side by side with the Americans to defend democracy. Many of our youth gave blood and lives to maintain human and religious ideas.
>
> But what is happening now? The wicked and the powerful became rich. Is the government established in the Philippines democratic or is it a government of the wicked and the greedy?

Other Images

In five stories from 1946, America was also portrayed as the center of knowledge and scientific advancement. The children of the rich were mentioned as specializing in medicine and business administration at American universities. The poor, however, could also enjoy educational opportunities abroad as shown in the story "Apat na Letham" [Four letters]. The poor could look forward to the benevolence of Americans in the Philippines. In this story, for example, Captain Perkins took Eduardo with him when he went back to the States as recognition for Eduardo's loyalty and industriousness.

1951

The Enchanting Image: America--the Liberator and the Place for Liberation

There were eleven stories that made references to the joint struggle of the Filipinos and Americans against the Japanese and to the triumphant return of the American soldiers led by General Douglas MacArthur.

G.I. Joe is still America's major representative. In the story "Pumpon ng Bulaklak" [A bunch of flowers], the main character proudly recalled how he had befriended the soldier William because of his diligence and fluency in English, consequently, the friendly G.I. had taught him how to drive a jeepney.

Ambivalence for G.I. Joe

The ambivalent feeling for G.I. Joe was exemplified by Mang Kiko's reaction to Walter, a Black American soldier. Mang Kiko did not like the idea of seeing his daughter, Narda, flirting with Walter. He advised his daughter not to accept the love of Walter but at the same time he taught her to play the game in order to get supplies from the soldier. Mang Kiko never liked Walter but he liked the things Walter was giving him--canned goods, blankets, and fatigues. Unfortunately, Mang Kiko's daughter was very much attracted to Walter and to his jeep. She eloped with him and placated her father by giving him Walter's usual 'goodies'. After some time, Walter had to leave and Narda was left crying at the port.

In this story, the problem of the G.I.'s baby first appears. Walter left Narda and Mang Kiko to cope with the difficulties of supporting a child abandoned by an American father.

America's Blessing: Education as an Instrument for Individual Liberation

While America liberated the country as a whole as seen in the stories of 1946, America in 1951 gave the Filipinos an instrument for individual liberation. The Filipinos were taught to regard education as a major means of escape from poverty.

Education, especially when obtained from America, was synonymous with wealth and prestige. Thus, for those who were in a hurry to reach the top, America was a promised land--it was the place of success.

More than fifteen stories mentioned Filipino students either leaving for America or returning.

What made possible their studies abroad?

Most of those who were able to study abroad were sons and daughters of the elite. In the story "Ang Kinatakutan" [That which was feared], a sugar baron sent his son abroad to obtain some know-how about machines in preparation for their establishment of a modern sugar control. The students in such stories as "Makakaya No" [You can make it], "Wala nang Alinlangan" [There's no doubt] and "Batas ng Diyos" [Law of God], were the sons of successful businessmen or rich landlords.

The main characters of the stories "Sisa" and "Rosas ang Kulay ng Kanyang Dibdib" [Rose is the color of her breast], were sent to study abroad by the military. Others were able to study because of the support of the American government. In the story "Nang Muling Magpaalam" [When she bid good-bye again], Ernesto was sent for studies abroad in recognition of his services as a guerilla. Support might also come from a benevolent America boss as in the case of Angel in "Laura."

Studying abroad was linked with other relevant goals of the characters. For the children of the bourgeoisie, studying abroad meant getting the proper recognition and the necessary expertise to aid them in managing the wealth and property of the family. For the oppressed, America is a sanctuary that would provide the opportunities to forget the pain they have suffered and the means to transcend the oppression they had endured in the past.

Most of them would be considered successful when they returned to the Phi'ippines. The poor boy from the squatters' area who was brought by his American boss to America came back as a successful plastic surgeon in the story "Laura." With the fifty thousand dollars inherited from his American benefactor, Angel established his own clinic and dedicated himself to the service of the poor and the unfortunate. There he met Laura, a patient, the rich girl who had insulted him during his high school days. Laura's face had been severely burned when the school dormitory caught fire. With the help of Angel, Laura had plastic surgery and regained her beauty. When she recognized Angel, Laura apologized for all her haughtiness. Angel courted her again and finally won her.

The basic concerns of the main characters in the stories discussed here indicate the prevalence of an achievement orientation, competitiveness, individualism, and materialism. These values became the motivating force for Filipinos to leave the country and seek greener pastures. Carried to extremes, these values were also responsible for the alienation of certain characters from their relationships

as shown in the stories "Makakaya Mo" [You can make it] and "Malapit sa Langit" [Close to the sky]. In these stories, the main characters neglected their girl friends in their pursuit of success in America.

Education for the People

In the story "Si Ena naman ang Nangurot" [It was Ena who pinched this time], the individualistic and materialistic concerns of Ena were questioned by Malaya, a former guerilla, who had a collectivist orientation and preferred simple living in the barrio.

> Is it that important for you to be recognized, to get rich? Malaya asked.
>
> Why do you have to study hard if you won't get anything from it? Ena asked back.
>
> It is not wealth and prestige which is the true dream of any individual. But happiness and satisfaction. Many would like to get rich and popular thinking that such will give them happiness. Maybe they have a point if they find fulfillment in it. Concerning myself, I have found happiness and fulfillment by staying in this barrio.

Malaya explained to Ena that his decision was to remain in the barrio was affected by his desire to show his sense of gratitude to Tandang Baldo who took care of him when he was sick. According to him, he was indebted not only to Tandang Baldo but also to the poor people in the barrio. He felt it as his responsibility to help them in any way he could. For him the best way to help them was through education. His concept of education, however, was different. Education for him is not confined to the classroom. His students are the people of the barrio. Teaching involves practice.

Ena admired Malaya but their goals were not compatible. Her main concern was to be able to get to the United States and pursue a master's degree. Luckily, because of her intelligence, she was granted a scholarship by the government. At the end of the story, however, she decided to give up the scholarship and adapt herself to Malaya's lifestyle.

1956

The Varied Faces of America

G. I. Joe was still the leading representative of America during this period. In one untitled story, G. I. Joe's sense of greatness, bravery, and commitment to the struggle against the Japanese served as an eye-opener for a Filipino guerilla

who was entertaining thoughts of deserting. In the story "Kokonti ang Inggles ni Inay" [Mother knew few English words], the friendly G.I., with his usual chocolate bars, tried to win the sympathy of a widow and her daughter as they volunteered to wash his clothes for a fee. In this story, the importance of learning English for a sound interaction with the Americans was stressed.

America's benevolent image was implied in stories that made mention of pensionados (beneficiaries). In the story "Si Jose, si Pilo at si Oman," the main characters were jubilant at the prospect of being sent to the United States as a reward for their services as guerillas.

America was the place of success as exemplified by the experiences of two old bachelors in the stories "Nasa Landas ang Kaligayahan" [Happiness is along the way] and "Karugtong ng Pangarap" [Fragment of a dream]. These two characters returned to the Philippines to spend the rest of their life and enjoy comfortable living with the wealth they had accumulated after years of pakikipagsapalaran (trying their luck) in America.

America was the hub of knowledge and scientific advancement. The sons of the rich were sent there to study in the stories "Ang Dalagang Ikakasal" [The girl about to be married] and "Naiwan ng Agos" [Left out by the current]. The main character in the story "Mahabang Lakbayin" [The long journey] brought his sick wife to America hoping that he could find a specialist who could cure her.

Three stories mentioned America as a tourist paradise, a place for honeymooners, and a place to forget. As might be expected, the characters of these stories were the elite.

1961

The Varied Faces of America

Seven stories mentioned events during the war and the coming of the Americans in the so-called period of liberation.

Two major stories gave instances wherein the "virus of awaitism" affected Filipinos at that time. In the story "Pensionado" [Beneficiary], a former servant of the U.S. Navy confidently waited for the coming of the Americans to liberate the country from the Japanese. A lovestruck Filipina in the story "Isang Paghihintay" [The long wait] anxiously waited for the return of the American soldier whom she had met during the liberation.

America is a powerful and a protective friend. This is the image in the mind of Mang Takyo, the main character in "Ang Pensionado," as a result of his twenty years of service as a cook in the U.S. Navy. He was called "pensionado" because he

was receiving a monthly pension of sixty dollars.

Because of this image of America, Mang Takyo gave a very optimistic forecast to his neighbors that the war would not touch the Philippines. The Japanese, according to him, were merely bluffing but they were no match for the military strength of America.

But the war came and Japan occupied the Philippines. It was a reality Mang Takyo could not accept. He refused to join his neighbors in evacuating to the provinces because he believed that the Japanese troops could not enter Manila. According to him, MacArthur would take care of everything. Contrary to his expectations, however, the Japanese did enter Manila. People in their neighborhood were forced to cooperate with and work for the Japanese, except for Mang Takyo. He refused to work because of his loyalty to America and because he believed that the Japanese occupation would not last long.

Despite Mang Takyo's loss of credibility because his forecasts did not come true, his optimism boosted his neighbors' morale. After some time, the much awaited Americans did arrive. Excited as he was, Mang Takyo climbed to the rooftop of their house to greet them and watched the battle. Ironically, he was killed instantly during a skirmish.

America as a savior and a friend is the image projected by the American soldiers as perceived by the Filipino father in the story "Isnag Paghihitay" [The long wait]. There were several incidents responsible for this image in his mind. His life was saved by an American soldier when a desperate Japanese ran amok during the liberation. He was also grateful for the steady supply of foods compared to the deprivation they had suffered during the Japanese occupation. It was also an American who helped him to find a job.

Because of his sense of gratitude, he was friendly and hospitable to all Americans. When Dick, an American soldier, started courting his daughter, Belen, he entertained him and made him feel at home. He even tried to communicate well with him. He was ambivalent, however, in considering Dick as a future son-in-law. According to him, there were problems involving race and culture. He was also doubtful whether Dick would return after the war ended.

Dick left for the United States but promised to return to marry Belen. As expected, Belen became the object of gossip and ridicule in their locality. After a long absence, however, Dick did return to fulfill his promise.

Love As a Bridge Between the East and the West

The story of Dick and Belen showed the possibility of a happy ending for a love story involving a Filipina and an American.

A modern version of this love story was portrayed in "Ang Huling Pasya" [The last decision]. The main characters here were Bill, an American pilot detailed at Clark Air Base, and Selina, a nightclub entertainer. For three years, Bill and Selina lived together as husband and wife without the benefit of marriage. Bill had fallen in love with Selina but he had to leave her to marry his girlfriend who was waiting for him in the States. Selina, on the other hand, was not expecting anything from her relationship with Bill. She knew that it would be unrealistic for Bill to marry her because Bill's rich and conservative family would not approve of it. In fact, she was prepared to go back to the nightclub where she used to work. Fortunately for Selina, however, Bill made a last-minute decision to return to her.

In another story, Eloise, an American peace corps volunteer, fell in love with Cristino, a Filipino agriculturist who belonged to a rich family in barrio Sta. Catalina. Eloise wrote to her father in the States and invited him to attend the "Santacruzan" (a religious ritual in May, performed by beautiful girls to symbolize St. Helena's search for the cross). Eloise wanted her father to see her as "Reyna Elena," the main character in the Santacruzan, and to meet her boyfriend. Cris was to be her escort. She wished to secure her father's approval for their relationship. Ralph West, the father of Eloise, unexpectedly had nothing against the relationship. Unknown to Eloise and Cris, Mr. West and Dona Marcosa, the mother of Cris, were former sweethearts. They had broken off because they gave in to the demands of their respective families who had opposed the relationship. Mr. West considered that a great mistake; according to him, love can bridge the gap between the east and the west and those concerned should stand and fight for it.

The Benevolent American Boss and His Filipino Protege

Another form of intimacy between the east and the west was portrayed in the story "Ang Lihim ng Isang Balo" [The secret of a widow]. Mr. Wishnoff, the American boss in this story, had a big heart. He considered Narciso as his own son in recognition of his kindness, perseverance, and loyalty. When he was about to die, Mr. Wishnoff entrusted Narciso with the right and responsibility of taking care of his property, including his wife. Mr. Wishnoff wished for Narciso to marry his widow.

In the story, Narciso did as he was told. He was grateful and subservient to the will of the American master. He allowed his American boss to run his life even after the American's death. This story showed the extent to which the Filipino had been reduced to the status of a "protectorate."

The Emerging Filipinism

Despite the protectorate status, the Filipinos, however, have something of their own, something different from the Americans, something worth preserving. In the story "Namatay na ang Nayon" [Our barrio has died], an old man laments what he calls the "death of his barrio" as a result of the barrio people's assimilation

of the language and the ways of David, a native of the barrio who had stayed in the United States for two years and returned speaking and acting like an American. The initial reaction to David's Americanization was one of irritation. He was alienated from his old friends. The irritation, however, soon disappeared when he built his dream house in the barrio. The people were impressed and soon he became the idol. The people imitated his ways and soon started speaking adulterated English.

Not all characters were attracted to America's promise of success. In the story "Dukha man ang Pasko" [Although we are poor this Christmas], the successful Filipino returning from America failed to impress his former girl friend (who was married to a poor man) with his brand-new car and other visible signs of his money. The girl was contented despite the poverty. This story showed that happiness and fulfillment can also be found in the Philippines.

The Filipinos have also their own interests to protect. In the story "Sakit" [Disease], a nationalistic doctor condemned his brother and other Filipinos for facilitating the exploitation of Philippine natural resources by foreigners.

Speaking of his brother, he said:

> He is like any of our government officials and fake leaders who abuse the freedom provided by democracy. They exploit free enterprise to get the luxury they want in life. They resort to dubious ways to accumulate wealth at the expense of the people. Many of them collaborate with foreigners in the exploitation of the Filipinos.

Other Images

In some minor stories, America is referred to as a place to study, a source of technology, a place to mend a broken heart, and a place to file for divorce.

1966

Idolatry and Disenchantment

America and Americans are still positively imprinted in the consciousness of Filipinos as shown in more than five minor stories and four major stories. However, a process of reinterpretation towards a more realistic view of America and Americans is evident in six major stories.

Colonial Mentality

There are Filipinos who still hold colonial values and standards. The male character in the story "Si Sarani, ang Muslim" [Sarani, the Muslim], clings to a

western concept of beauty. The children in the story "Takipsilim ng Isang Ina" [Dusk for a mother] have western aspirations; the son dreams of studying at West Point while the daughter would like to marry an American.

The height of colonial mentality is portrayed in the story "Marino sa Katihan" [Mariner in land]. Herman, the main character in the story, is a village idiot obsessed with the desire to serve the U.S. Navy. The people laughed at him, and his father was very irritated because of his queer ways; Herman was always wearing a sailor's uniform and was very fond of marching and going to cabarets like a real sailor. When the war came, Herman joined the guerillas when he learned that they were taking care of an American officer who was scheduled to carry important information to their headquarters in Australia. Herman saw the possibility of becoming a sailor if the officer would take him to Australia. He did his best to get the attention and the sympathy of the American, and he was not disappointed. The American officer decided to take Herman along. When they were about to leave, they were attacked by the Japanese. In the encounter, Herman saved the life of the American officer but lost his own life.

Herman became a hero in the eyes of the other guerillas. As related by his friend, Bordo, Herman did a great service for the country by saving the life of the American who was considered as an important figure for liberating the Filipinos from the Japanese. In recognition of his heroism, a monument was built in Herman's honor. Herman, the "marinong kati" [mariner in land] became a legend, and his father was very proud of him.

Positive Images of Americans

The benevolence of an American lady is projected in the story "Ang Kaibigan ni Bert" [The friend of Bert]. This is the story of Bert, a Filipino in America, who was willed $980,000 by an old American lady because he had helped her in the past.

Another Filipino in America experienced the hospitality and the sense of gratitude of an American lady in the story "Silid Para sa Isang Pilipino" [Room for a Filipino].

Americans in the Philippines are portrayed as friendly and warm-hearted in the story "Mahal Namin si Roy" [We love Roy]. Roy, the main character in the story, is an American dog given to Nato, a sickly Filipino child, by the son of an American executive in a multinational corporation.

Good-Bye, G.I. Joe

One story in 1961 entitled "Isang Paghihintay" [The long wait], reappeared in 1966 with minor revisions under the title "Umalagwa ang Saranggola" [The kite fell]. The 1961 story projected the sincerity of the love of Dick, an American soldier, for Belen. He came back to fulfill his promise of marriage. Dick was

renamed Ken in the 1966 story. Unlike Dick, Ken took advantage of Belen and disappeared immediately when he learned that Belen was pregnant.

When the 1961 story was told from the point of view of Belen's sister, "Umalagwa ang Saranggola" was told from the point of view of Seto, the brother of Belen. At the start, Seto was very proud of having Ken for a friend. He showed off the things Ken gave him to his playmates. He treasured a kite Ken made for him and even got into a fight over the ownership of the kite. Seto saw the kite as a symbol of Ken and his friendship. The kite, however, was not strong enough, nor was Ken strong enough to defend it. Seto overheard the conversation of his father and sister, and realized the "price" paid for the kite. The story ended with Seto angrily tearing the kite to pieces.

In the story "William Johnson: Pilipino," G.I. Joe returns to the Philippines and is confronted by his grown-up son. William Johnson, the main character in the story, was named for his father, an American soldier who abandoned his mother before he was born. The story tells how he and his mother survived despite the absence of the father. William Johnson was able to stay in school and graduate as valedictorian in high school with the help of his hardworking mother. When his mother died, he worked and supported himself in college. He no longer needed help when his American father came to see him. He responded with bitterness when the father invited him to America.

> We look alike, as what my mother told me. We are of the same color. We are related by the color of the skin alone . . . it is that shallow . . .
>
> I'm sorry, Mr. Johnson, I'll be contented with whatever small opportunity my country can offer. The Philippines is in my blood and soul. Thank you, Mr. Johnson,--and he stood up. Good-bye, Mr. Johnson.

Brown American, Scram!

In the story "Umuwi si Kuya Felipe" [My elder brother Felipe came home], Felipe, the little brown brother who was brought to the United States by an American soldier, came back to see his family after twenty-five years of separation. Felipe had become successful in America; he was a professor in an American university and had written a number of scholarly articles for publication. His latest publication was a book, America, America, which extolled America as the hero of the second world war in the Philippines. The book received a literary award from the American government.

The reception given to him when he came back was vividly described:

A big crowd met Kuya Felipe. Students. Teachers. Organizations. It was a warm and an oppressive welcome. My anxiety was realized. There were big placards written in black and red. Welcome, American Brother. The Americanization of a Filipino. The Philippines Has Lost A Son. America. America: A Big Lie! The shouts were loud. I was stunned by the repeated singing of the National Anthem. I was shocked to see the confetti thrown to Kuya Felipe: they were the torn pieces of the pages of his book.

Felipe realized the extent of his alienation from the Filipinos. It was impossible for him to stay in the Philippines because for somebody like him, success and recognition can only be found in America. He wanted his mother and brother to come with him to America but he was disappointed. He had to leave alone.

The Filipino Asserts Himself in Love

In the story "Mapula Rin ang Dugo" [His blood is red also], Isagani, a poor high school student, challenged and defeated Sammy, his American classmate and rival to the love of Andrea. The story shows the preferential treatment given to foreigners by Filipinos. When Sammy came, the teacher instructed her students to use their best English when talking to Sammy. It was announced by the teacher that those caught speaking a dialect on the school premises would be fined. Isagani reacted against this policy and criticized the teacher's tendency to adapt to foreigners rather than encouraging the foreigners to adapt to the Filipinos by learning their language. The teacher got mad at him and told him to get out of the classroom. The gap in the living conditions between Isagani and Sammy was also shown in the story. Isagani was living in poverty in a squatters area and was struggling to support himself in school by selling newspapers. Sammy, the son of an American engineer detailed at a huge American-owned corporation, was enjoying the luxury of driving his own car.

The superiority of the Filipino sailor as a lover over his exploitative American officer in the U.S. Navy was portrayed in the story "Alila ng Kapitan" [Servant of the captain]. In this story, the wife of Captain Belly fell in love with Rey, a Filipino seaman, and decided to divorce the American officer. The story also showed the position of the Filipino as a second class citizen in the U.S. Navy.

In the story "Walang Pagtatangi an Puso" [There's no love in his heart] the Filipino student was pursued by a lovestruck American teacher. Miss Armstrong, the main character in the story, was portrayed as lanky and homely. She was attracted to Rene, a Filipino student who was very fond of boxing. When Rene left for America to pursue his career as a boxer, Miss Armstrong followed and finally won him in America.

All these stories allude to untapped potential and hidden qualities of the Filipinos that were never recognized by the Americans. In addition, the potential of the Filipinos for development is often limited by social conditions in the Philippines. This accounts for the large number of Filipinos who must leave for work in the United States. The idealistic Filipino doctor in the story "Maantak na Sugat" [Deep wound] came back after medical training in America in order to offer his services to his country. The story, however, portrayed how he was oppressed by the low salary, obsolete hospital facilities and equipment, exploitative hospital administrators, and corrupt government. He realized that it was impossible for him to be a good doctor given existing conditions so he decided to return to the States.

1971

America Unmasked--The Imperialist

The trend towards a more realistic portrayal of America and Americans, which we observed in the stories of 1966, persisted and reached its peak in 1971 when the first discussions of imperialism as a basic issue crept into the stories. While America was the much-awaited "liberator" in 1946, by 1971 she was being driven out as oppressor.

A penetrating discussion of colonialism and neo-colonialism can be found in two major stories and six minor stories.

The historical role of the United States in the Philippines is reinterpreted in the story "Kulay Pula ang mga Tala sa Hilaga" [Red is the star in the west]. This is the story of the love and ideals of Magtanggol, a revolutionary, and Isabel, a member of the ilustrado class (the elite). The story takes place in the late nineteenth century when Aguinaldo proclaimed independence from Spain, established the Philippine Republic, and when independence was snatched by the new colonizers.

Doubts about the true motives of America for coming to the Philippines were expressed by Isabel in order to warn Magtanggol of the dangers of cooperating with the Americans in their attempt to free the country from Spanish colonialism. Her doubts were based on the knowledge of the dynamics of industrialization as explained to her by her uncle.

> Progress is the basis of my uncle's doubts . . . In 29 years, America emerged as an industrial power. Her production exceeded the demands for consumption. She needed new markets to support production and avoid unemployment and the depression of the economy. She could not do anything but grab a territory in Asia to serve as a base for the distribution of her products in other countries in the East.

Magtanggol realized this only later in the struggle. The Philippines was sold to the United States in the Treaty of Paris by Spain. The Filipinos did not keep quiet. They also revolted against the United States. The Philippine-American War, which for a long time had been suppressed from the memories of Filipinos, was discussed from the point of view of Magtanggol in the story.

The Philippines was declared independent in 1946. But this was an illusion because imperialism merely changed clothes. America's strangle-hold on the Philippine economy remains. The situation is described in the story "Reaksyonarya vs. Aktibista" [The reactionary vs. the activist].

Imperialism is exploitative and exploitation is made possible by an alliance of forces of the foreigners and local ruling elite. As expressed in the story "Panaginip at Pag-ibig" [Dream and love], the 'white monkeys' (the imperialist) should be booted out of the country. Filipinos should oppose foreign domination and fight imperialism according to spokesman of a rally in the story "Budhi: Piskal at Hukom" [Conscience: fiscal and judge]. The only answer is the change of the system through a violent revolution according to Allan, the activist, in the story "Reaksyonarya vs. Aktibista."

The issue becomes more concrete in the story "Ang Silangan ay Pumupula" [The East is turning red]. In it, the workers protest the exploitative conditions in the American bases in the Philippines, one of the most visible signs of imperialism. Attacks were directed against the inhuman treatment given to workers, low wages, lack of benefits, and job insecurity.

The exploitation of Filipinos by the Americans is not merely economic. In the story "Si Jojo, Isang Kabataan" [Jojo, the youth], a Filipino teen-ager becomes a drug addict and a pusher because of the influence of an American who was smuggling drugs. In another story, "Patikim sa Masarap na Buhay" [A taste of the good life], ambitious Filipinas were lured into prostitution by Mr. Harrison, an American engaged in hotel and prostitution business in the country. The wayward life and the corruption of an adolescent because he rebelled at being a G.I. baby are portrayed in "Bagamundo" [Vagabond].

Protests were also directed against the effects of colonial values. A satirical view of the Filipino concept of hospitality is evident in the story "Pilipino Hospitality." In this story, Frances, an American-Filipina mestiza who had lived in the United States came to visit the country of her mother because she had heard about the traditional hospitality of the Filipinos. When she arrived she was overwhelmed with the warm welcome given to her--the best accommodation, nice foods, a Filipina dress, and a barrio fiesta. During the fiesta given in her honor, she was shocked to realize the true meaning of their hospitality. The Filipinos who were so warm and so generous to a foreigner like her can be callous and insensitive to the needs of their own people. When a Filipino was robbed and mugged, no one helped him.

The western orientation, which leads to an irrelevant educational system, was criticized in the story "Toreng Asin" [Tower made of salt].

In the story "Ang 'Merkanong Kayumanggi" [The brown American], Eddie returns, markedly Americanized in ways and values, after four years of service in the U.S. Navy. The changes are observed and criticized by his girlfriend. Eddie returns to the service with the hope of applying for American citizenship. When he gets sick an American doctor in the Navy refuses to treat him. Instead, a Filipino comes to his rescue. Because of this Eddie changes his mind and accepts a Filipino identity once more.

Although America provides the individual Filipino with the chance to accumulate wealth, the meaning of going to the U.S. is reinterpreted in the stories "Doon Ka, Dito Ako" [You stay there, I stay here] and "Sa Parke ng mga Pangarap" [In the park of dreams]. In these stories, the main characters sacrificed their love because of basic imcompatibility of goals.

In the story "Doon Ka, Dito Ako," Beth, the activist who sees the concept of education as not limited to the classroom, questions the individualist aspirations of her boyfriend, Pedring, who wants to leave their barrio for the United States in order to get rich. Pedring failed to convince her to join him, they broke off, and Pedring had to leave alone.

The love of Santi and Glenn in the story "Sa Parke ng mga Pangarap" suffered the same fate. Santi refused to go to the United States with his girlfriend because of his commitment to the Filipino masses. For him, life in America would be meaningless:

> What is the meaning of his life there? What's fulfillment, success, prestige--if at other part of the globe, there are shattered brains in the streets, there are people who spit blood in the estero, there are those who are killed by bullets in small huts in the countryside, there are those who suffer in the stockade in Camp Aguinaldo? Can he sleep? Can he swallow the grapes, the apples, the juicy pears?

In the two stories, love, which is the worn-out theme of almost all stories, gains a new meaning. Love goes beyond the self when the majority in society suffer.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

In 1946, America was the much-awaited liberator; by 1971, she was being driven out as an oppressor. The two opposing moods can be seen in slogans. In 1946, the slogan was "Welcome, Victory Joe"; in 1971, it was "Yankee, Go Home,"

or in the language of the activists, "Ibagsak ang Imperyalismo" [Down with imperialism].

An analysis of the stories published from 1946 to 1971 shows the shift of images was not abrupt; it was not as simple as waking from a dream in just one night.

There were seeds of nationalism and anti-Americanism even in the early stories considered here for analysis. The ambivalence towards the American soldiers and their trappings was evident in both the 1946 and the 1951 stories. The Filipinos were disgusted with the degeneration of values and habits of the usually-virtuous Filipina as a result of modernization and her encounter with the American soldiers and their "goodies." G.I. Joe seduced the Filipina with his smiles, his jeep, his promises, and "I Love You" said with a candy bar or an English magazine. The American soldier won the hearts of the children who usually served as chaperones with his chocolates and his antics, and pacified the authoritarian parents with canned goods, clothes, blankets, construction materials, and even money for a small business venture. G.I. Joe easily became the darling of everybody not only because of his goods and supplies, but also because of his aura of power and heroism.

Idolatry and materialism had its price. As portrayed in the 1946 and 1951 stories, Filipino guerilla boyfriends were jilted in favor of the American G.I., and girls who were lured by the American soldiers were left broken-hearted at the pier. Labels like 'jeep girl' and 'hanggang piyer' (up to the port) were prevalent.

As an individual, the American soldier was the object of resentment to the point of being driven out of the barrio by Filipino males. The plot of the stories, however, gives the impression that the American soldier was not the real culprit. The Filipinas and their parents were to be blamed because they were weak and did not resist.

The negative influences of the American soldier on the Filipino morality, as seen in stories of 1946 and 1951, were outweighed by the idolatry of America. Although there were characters who were disillusioned with the unfulfilled promises of the coming of the Americans, they never lost faith in the benevolence of America and its commitment to democratic ideals.

As proof of America's benevolence, Filipinos were given the chance to study in the 'grand' country. As shown in the majority of 1951 stories, there were many Filipinos going to and returning from America. For these Filipinos, America was the scene of success and in the plot of the stories, they were never disappointed. When they returned to the Philippines, they became the new idols and the main agents for the spread of American values and culture.

These Filipinos were also the object of resentment in some stories. In a story published in 1951, the materialist and the individualist orientation of the female

character who was concerned with going to America to pursue a master's degree was questioned by the guerilla character who was concerned with serving the poor and preferred the simple, unsophisticated barrio life. For him, happiness and fulfillment can also be found in the Philippines. This was also the message of another story, published in 1961, wherein a returning Filipino was very much disappointed to find out that his former girlfriend was happily married to a poor man and was not at all attracted to new affluence.

An emerging Filipinism can be seen by 1961. In one story, an old man lamented over what he called the 'death' of his barrio as a result of the barrio people's assimilation of the ways and habits of a Filipino who stayed for years in America and came back totally Americanized. His resentment was based on his attachment and love for tradition. The Filipinos have a culture of their own that they can be proud of. In another story, a nationalistic doctor condemned his brother for collaborating with the foreigners' exploitation of the natural resources of the Philippines. As shown in this story, the Filipinos as a whole have interests to protect but there are some Filipinos whose interests were linked with the interests of foreigners.

The positive images of America persisted until about 1966 but these were modified by the emergence of a more realistic portrayal of America and Americans. The American soldier was reinterpreted in one story and the ambivalence was resolved in another story: a grown-up G.I. "baby" confronted his American father for his irresponsibility and negligence and finally declared himself independent from him for the rest of his life.

The reaction to the brown American was more intense, as shown in the welcome given to a returning Filipino who had been taken to America by an American soldier twenty-five years earlier. He had become a scholar in America and had written a book extolling the heroism of America during the second world war in the Philippines. He was met by a group of demonstrators with placards condemning Americanization. Confetti made from the torn pages of his book was thrown at him. He realized the extent of his alienation from the rest of the Filipinos.

The trend towards a realistic portrayal of America and Americans observed in 1966 continued in 1971 and was heightened by the discussion of imperialism as a major issue. The real motives of America for coming to the Philippines were revealed in one story projecting the ideals and the fight for freedom of a Filipino revolutionary. The illusions of Philippine independence were also shattered and the reality of the dynamics of neo-colonialism was emphasized in another story. The economic, political and cultural exploitation of the Filipinos by the representatives of American imperialism, the executive of a multinational corporation, the hotel executive involved in prostitution business, the base officials and the American hippie, was also portrayed in other stories.

What could account for these changing images?

Images in the content of short stories are not passive reflections of the changing historical reality. The historical reality merely provides the material for literature which is then sifted, interpreted, and given a definite form by the writer. Images are the outcome of the writer's encounter with and reaction to the historical reality.

The changing consciousness of Filipino writers is a crucial factor in explaining the images of America as reflected in popular short stories from 1946 to 1971. Consciousness here means an understanding of social forces, awareness of issues, and a concept of the writer's role and the use of literature in society. The nature and direction of post-war Philippine popular literature can be attributed to the writers' consciousness complemented by the conditions of publication and the receptivity of the audience.

The damage done by the war was incalculable. Production was at a standstill when the Americans came to help in rehabilitation. Food was extremely scarce. To provide for the speedy relief for the population, which had recently been liberated from Japanese rule, the American army created the Philippine Civil Affairs Unit, which took charge of the free distribution of rice, cracked corn, sardines, salmon, and other American canned goods.

These goods and the American soldiers who distributed them became popular subjects of the early post-war short stories. The American soldier with his 'goodies' was the major symbol for America's benevolent image.

Early post-war short stories showed that the efforts of the Japanese to erase Filipinos' idolatrous attitude towards America were not successful. In these stories, Filipinos were portrayed as welcoming the American liberators with open arms and grateful hearts while the Japanese were portrayed as tyrants and villains.

At this point, both Filipino writers and their audience looked to America as their "Big White Brother." This was partly the product of long years of exposure to a colonial educational system. The educational system introduced by the Americans in 1908 had molded the Filipinos into loyal and willing servants of the United States.

The mentality fostered by the educational system was adequately described by Renato Constantino, a noted nationalist:

> With American education, the Filipinos were not only learning a new language; they were not only forgetting their own language; they were starting to become a new type of American. American ways were slowly being adopted. Our consumption habits were molded by the influx of American goods that came in duty-free. The pastoral economy was extolled because this conformed with the colonial economy that was being fostered.

> Our books extolled the Western nations as peopled by superior beings because they were capable of manufacturing things that we never thought we were capable of producing.

The idolatrous mentality fostered by the educational system was underscored by the bitter memories of the war. The atrocities of the Japanese 'masters' during the war made the Filipinos look back to the "good old days" with the American masters. The liberator-image of America became more prevalent with the granting of Philippine independence. This act was a symbol of America's benevolence. Philippine independence was used to glorify Philippine-American relations.

The prevalence of the positive images of America in the short stories published from 1946 up to the early 1960's seems to indicate the extent to which the Filipino writers and audience had been influenced by various myth-making devices.

Given the nature of stories published in Liwayway in these years, it can be said that Liwayway itself contributed to the perpetuation of a colonial mentality. The nature of the stories can be explained by considering the quality of the writers and the orientation of the magazine. Liwayway is a commercial fiction magazine. Until the late sixties, literary rebels were outsiders to Liwayway. The magazine was publishing only easy stories on the assumption that readers wanted stories that could be read and enjoyed by women while having the lice in their hair picked. Because of this, the more educated and serious writers refused to write for popular magazines. The rest of the writers who wanted to earn money and have their stories published succumbed to the commercial orientation of the magazine and turned out stories that would entertain the mass of readers.

The myths regarding America and Philippine independence were soon unmasked. Since the early sixties, there have been nationalist stirrings, crystallized and articulated by the late Claro M. Recto. There were demands for the recognition of Philippine sovereignty on the question of military bases. There were appeals for the correction of the inequitable economic relations between the Philippines and the United States. As a result of foreign exchange and import controls during the Garcia administration (1957-1961), the Filipino businessmen became assertive in favor of nationalist industrialization. They rallied under the banner of "a Filipino First" policy raised by the then president, Carlos Garcia.

These became popular issues on campus. Nationalism was widespread among the students. Various student organizations were formed that were responsive to national issues. The killings of Filipinos on American bases and the refusal of the American military to hand over the killers to the Philippine court for trial became the object of many early student demonstrations.

Nationalism was also echoed in some Liwayway short stories. With the assimilation of some younger writers into the publication, the quality of short stories

somewhat improved. College-trained writers turned out a handful of more serious stories commenting on the ills of Philippine society. The trend towards realism in the short stories was evident by 1966. America, for example, was reinterpreted, and colonial mentality was attacked.

With the emergence of the national democratic movement as evidenced in the founding of a militant student organization, the "Kabataang Makabayan" in 1964, there was a greater theorizing and clarification of Philippine problems. Greater politicalization and awareness of the roots of these problems came between 1965 and 1970. Imperialism was identified as a basic enemy of the Filipino people.

From 1968-1971, writers became more conscious of the use of literature for political purposes. A national democratic cultural revolution was launched to erase the remnants of colonial mentality among the people. A militant writers' organization, PAKSA, was formed in 1971; with it emerged a new literature guided by the ideology of the national democratic movement.

The new literature is essentially anti-imperialist. Literature is conceived as an instrument for serving the masses of the people. The philosophy underlying committed literature is, "from the people to the people." In view of this desire to reach the greater number of people, committed intellectuals have recognized the strategic importance of writing for popular magazines such as Liwayway. Thus, the new breed of socially committed writers penetrated commercial publications, which can perhaps account for the demystification of America and Americans by the 1971 stories.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

The images of America and Americans noted in this paper cannot be considered adequate for revealing the total picture of America in the minds of Filipinos. There is a need to analyze the images existing in other cultural forms such as the novels, editorials, comics, and poetry. It is also important to consider surveys revealing actual attitudes and to assess the validity of these images. The nature of the images can also be clarified by studying the dynamics and organization of the industries that generate popular culture.

APPENDIX

1946

Number of Issues Read - 41
Total Number of Stories - 109
Number of Stories Considered for Analysis - 25 (18 minor stories, 7 major stories)

AMERICA AS AN ALLY DURING THE WAR

Minor stories: Walang Pag-ibig, Sinukuan, Nadurog na Pag-asa, Umigkas ang Bagwis, Doon sa Nayon

AMERICA, THE LIBERATOR AND THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERATION

Major stories: Ang Kanyang Kasintahan
Nakaiwas sa Baga
Bayad Utang
Ako'y Baliw
Sayang na Buhay
Nalagot na Tanikala

Minor stories: Sinukuan, Pustaban ng nga Puso, Sugat sa Alaala, May Puso sa Karangyaan, Pangalawang Langit

NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF LIBERATION

The American Soldier as a rival in love and as an agent of modernization

Major stories: Ang Kanyang Kasintahan
Nakaiwas sa Baga
Bayad Utang
Ako'y Baliw

Minor stories: May Puso sa Karangyaan, Kung Masira ang Panata

Corruption of democracy

Major stories: Sayang na Buhay
Ako'y Baliw

Unemployment

Minor story: Walang Palad

THE BENEVOLENT IMAGE OF AMERICA

Major story: Apat na Liham
Minor story: Tinupad na Pangako

AMERICA AS THE SCENE OF SUCCESS,
A PLACE TO SPECIALIZE,
THE CENTER OF SCIENTIFIC ADVANCEMENT.

Major story: Apat na Lihem
Minor stories: Sa Dulo ng Landas, Nahinog sa Pilit,
Tagapamagitan, Tinupad na Pangako

1951

Number of Stories Read - 44
Total Number of Stories - 546
Stories Considered for Analysis - 42 (38 minor stories, 4 major stories)

IMAGES RELATED TO THE WAR AND LIBERATION--AMERICA: FRIEND, ALLY AND LIBERATOR

Major story: Lumagay sa Magaling
Minor stories: Ang Biyuda, Dumungaw Ka Lamang, Ang Baha, Kung Walang Pag-ibig, Walang Tutol, Mapapatawad Ba Kita, Pagpalain mo po Siya, 3 Katyaw, Isang Dumalaga at Si Myrna Mag-aral Ka sa Heskol, Pumpon ng Bulaklak

AMERICA'S BLESSING: EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF LIBERATION AND AMERICA AS THE SCENE OF SUCCESS

Major stories: Laura
Si Ena Naman ang Nangurot
Makakaya Mo
Minor stories: Wala Nang Alinlangan, Tagumpay, Batas ng Diyos, Handog as Kasal, Sisa, Ang Kinatatakutan, Tse . . . , Dapat Ipagpasalamat, Nanakot Ka Pa Yata, Makamandag na Ahas, Sakit ni Aida, Parusa, Rosas ang Kanyang Dibdib, Nang Muling Magpaalam, Malapit sa Langit, Nagkatawanan Lamang

OTHER THEMES

America as a place to enjoy

Minor stories: Ang Sapatos ni Sinderela, Ang Panyolito

Filipinos going to and returning from America

Minor stories: Mga Pangarap, Liham, Nawalan ng Karapatan, Tiyak na Tiyak, Nagbakasyon ang Senyorita, Ester Mahal Kita.

America as a place to file for divorce

Minor story: Guni-guning Takot

Filipino-American War

Minor story: Tatlong Ninong

Participation of Filipinos and Americans in the Korean War

Minor story: Talagang Dahilan

1956

Number of Issues Read - 49
Total Number of Stories - 290
Stories Considered for Analysis - 18 (16 minor stories, 2 major stories)

IMAGES RELATED TO THE WAR AND LIBERATION

America-friend and ally

Major stories: Kwento Ukol Sa Timpalak
Kokonti ang Ingles ni Inay

Minor stories: Kwento ng Isang Sarano
Kung Bakit Ako Mayaman
Sa Pagbabalik Ko
Bangkay sa Ilog Pasig

Benevolent America and the pensionados

Minor stories: Si Jose, Si Pilo at si Oman Nasa Landas ng Kaligayahan Anong Bilis ng Araw

AMERICA AS THE SCENE OF SUCCESS

Minor stories: Karugtong ng Pangarap
Nasa Puso
Ang Dalagang Ikakasal
Naiwan ng Agos

AMERICA AS A SOURCE OF TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC KNOW-HOW

Minor stories: Mahabang Lakbayin, Ang Dalagang Ikakasal

AMERICA AS A PLACE TO ENJOY, A PLACE TO FORGET

Minor stories: Lalaki, Isinusumpa Mo Bang . . .
Napatali Uli, Paalam sa Nakalipas

COLONIAL MENTALITY

Minor story: Kapitbahay

1961

Number of Issues Read - 52
Total Number of Stories - 315
Stories Considered for Analysis - 22 (14 minor stories, 8 major stories)

IMAGES RELATED TO THE WAR AND THE YEARS OF LIBERATION--AMERICA: FRIEND AND LIBERATOR

Major stories: Pensyonado
Isang Paghihintay

Minor stories: Isang Kawayan, Walang Kamatayan ang Mga Bayani, Sa Hanggahan ng Lahi, Taktika Militar, Maselang Panganay

AMERICA AS A PLACE TO STUDY, THE SCENE OF SUCCESS

Major stories: Dukha man ang Pasko
Namatay na ang Aming Nayon
Hahanap Ako ng Bituin

Minor stories: Wala nang Masasangkalan, Saglit na Kawalanghanggan, Guwang, Niloko mo Ako

AMERICA AS A SOURCE OF TECHNOLOGY

Minor stories: Wala nang Masasangkalan, Nakayukong Tagumpay

AMERICA AS A PLACE TO FORGET AND ENJOY

Minor stories: Wala nang Masasangkalan, Mga Gunitang Kulay Rosas, Tuwing Hapon sa Pasigan

AMERICA AS A PLACE TO FILE FOR DIVORCE

Minor story: Tanghalan ng Buhay

LOVE--EAST AND WEST

Major stories: Huling Pasya
Reyna Elena
Lihim ng Isang Balo

1966

Number of Issues Read - 41
Total Number of Stories - 184
Stories Considered for Analysis - 25 (15 minor stories, 10 major stories)

POSITIVE IMAGES

Colonial mentality
(idolatrous attitude towards America, western values and standard)

Major story: Ang Marino sa Katihan
Minor stories: Si Sarani, ang Muslim, Takipsilim ng Isang Ina, Isang Hapon sa Luneta

Benevolent, friendly Americans

Major stories: Ang Kaibigan ni Bert
Silid Para sa Isang Pilipino
Mahal namin si Roy
Minor story: Ang Scoop ni Rudy

America as the scene of success

Major story: Ang Kaibigan ni Bert
Minor stories: Bienvenida Para sa Tatlong Manlalakbay, May-aswas na si Delfin, Ang Tunay na Kayamanan

America as an Ally

Minor story: Imahen ng Birhen

THE TREND TOWARDS REALISM

G. I. Joe reinterpreted

Major stories: Umalagwa ang Saranggola
William Johnson: Pilipino

Alienation of a brown American

Major story: Umuwi si Kuya Felipe

Filipino asserts himself in love

Major stories: Mapula rin ang Dugo
Alila ng Kapitan
Walang Pagtatangi ang Puso

Brain drain analyzed

Major story: Maantak na Sugat

OTHER STORIES

Minor stories: Manika sa Tokyo, Jaybee, Maganda ang Misis Ko, Ang Antigong Pendantino

1971

Number of Issues Analyzed - 49
Total Number of Stories - 186
Stories Considered for Analysis - 30 (18 minor stories, 12 major stories)

DEMYSTIFICATION OF AMERICA

America--the Imperialist

Major stories: Kulay Pula ang Mga Tala sa Hilaga
Reaksyonarya vs. Aktibista

Minor stories: Maestro Felipe, Pangarap at Pag-ibig, Mga Lagas na Dahon ng Marso, Bilangguan, Hawakan Mo ang Aking Kamay, Budhi: Piskal at Hukom

Exploitative, corruptive Americans

Major stories: Bagamundo
Jojo, isang Kabataan
Amerikanong Kayumanggi
Ang Silangan ay Pumupula
Patikin sa Masarap na Buhay

Critique of colonial values

Major stories: Pilipino Hospitality
Toreng Asin

Reinterpretation of America as the scene of success

Major stories: Isang Araw sa Buhay ni Simon Aguila
Sa Parke ng mga Pangarap
Doon Ka, Dito Ako

POSITIVE IMAGES

America as the scene of success

Minor stories: Ma'am Pwede Ba?, Sapagkat Mahal Kita, Si Cleotild, si Mr. Fernandez at mga Pangarap, Kasalanan ni Delisay

America as a place to enjoy

Minor story: Ang Buhay . . . Iba't Ibang Uri ng Pagkain

Friendly, protective Americans

Minor stories: Natatandaan mo Ba, Isang Gabing Walang Telebisyon, Mga Himala sa Buhay ni Patsy Li

OTHER STORIES

Minor stories: Nahihiyang Puso, Napaangkin Upang Umangkin